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DELAWARE CULTURE CHRONOLOGY

By

Vernon Kinietz

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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I. INTRODUCTION

In 1638 Sweden planted the first permanent colony on the 175
banks of the Delaware River. Since that date there has been 177
continuous contact between the Delaware Indians then residing there and the whites. The Delaware Indians today offer an opportunity to study the process of culture change through a period of three centuries of contact with another culture.

The term "culture change" embraces all aspects of culture 000
change, regardless of the process or processes whereby the change was brought about, whether by indigenous evolution, stimulus-diffusion, contact on a small or a large scale, or by some other way.

Acculturation is one process by which culture change takes place; it is the approximation of the culture of one social group to that of another under conditions of continuous contact. This process admits of a two-way passage of influence and predicates no end result except that it be somewhere between the two original cultures. Diffusion of ideas, technical processes and the like between neighboring groups is properly an example of acculturation. Usually acculturation studies are concerned with the results of the process on only one tribe or group.

Assimilation is distinguished from acculturation on the basis of political control. It is a process of culture change with the political dominance of one group directing the process and usually resulting in the engulfing of the other group and the obliteration of its culture. However, there are instances in which it was the ruling group that was engulfed or assimilated. Assimilation is acculturation, then, with a predicated result: the obliteration of one of two groups in contact.

Diffusion as a process is distinguished from acculturation only by the absence of direct or continuous contact. As a matter of fact, diffusion within a group is responsible for the preservation of its culture; diffusion between groups is responsible for the spread of culture and hence the change or accretion of traits among the receiving groups. If the examples of the diffusion of

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[illegible] traits are sufficiently numerous or take place with continuous contact, the process is acculturation. In practice, diffusion is also to be distinguished from acculturation on a difference in emphasis. That is, when the distribution of a single trait or a nexus of traits is the problem in hand, the spreading of the trait or traits is an example of diffusion, but when the subject of inquiry is a single culture receiving or giving many traits through diffusion under a condition of continuous contact, the process is called acculturation.

121 The Delaware tribe with its well-documented history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the process of acculturation and also the testing of the hypothesis that when a culture is invaded or confronted by an alien culture and particularly a superior or more complex one, its technology is the first aspect to change, sociological concepts and practices are more resistant, and the spiritual life is the last aspect to be affected.

123 A resumé of documentary material relating to the Delaware was followed by field work among the Delaware in northeastern and south-central Oklahoma in the fall of 1938.

II. THE DELAWARE TRIBE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

The Delaware call themselves Lenape or Lenni Lenape. Their 101
common name is derived from the fact that their first known
residence was on the river so named by the English. Lindeström 131
gives their location in 1656 as in the vicinity of Philadelphia on
the west side of the Delaware River, and their kindred, the
Munsee, were located on the east side. The territory that they
occupied was probably much more extensive than Lindeström
indicated, but little beyond the water courses had been explored
in those days. The Delaware were still in possession of the river
when William Penn entered into his first treaty with them in
1682.

The British administration after Penn's time was aligned with 648
the Iroquois who assumed domination over the Delaware. It
is practically impossible to determine the exact time or circumstances
of the Iroquois "making women" of the Delaware, but
about 1720 they denied the Delaware the right to make war
or to dispose of land. Very soon the Delaware were being
crowded out of their old locations by the Iroquois and the whites.
They moved to various sites farther west in Pennsylvania, and 167
by 1751 began to settle in eastern Ohio. Within a few years the
majority of them were in Ohio and Indiana. The Moravian 797
missionaries who followed them from the East established themselves
in Ohio and worked with great success until the Revolution.

Distrusted by both the British and the colonists, the Delaware 648
and particularly the Moravian converts, were harried from
both sides. The Gnadenhütten Massacre in 1782 was the greatest [726]
blow dealt by the colonists, but while demoralizing, it was
not as devastating as were the moves forced upon the Indians 167
by the British the year before. The famine and other hardships 731
resulting from these forced emigrations scattered and decimated
the Christian Delaware and also created the opportunity for the

731 167 Gnadenhütten affair. A score or so of families settled on the Clinton River northwest of the site of Mount Clemens on land belonging to the Chippewa. They lived there from 1782 to 1786. In the latter year they moved to Pilgerruh near Pittsburgh, then to Pettquotting, and finally in 1791 to Canada. A few families returned to the Tuscarawas in 1798.

167 657 In the meantime the "heathen" Delaware were settling in western Indiana, principally along the White River. In 1821 these were moved across the Mississippi by the Federal Government to a reservation near Leavenworth, Kansas. There they were joined about 1835 by a band of Delaware which had removed to Missouri in 1789 with the permission of the Spanish Government, and by 1820, after a sojourn in Arkansas, had moved to Texas with a Shawnee band. In 1867 the Delaware sold their lands in Kansas and bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma. A small party was living among the Caddo and Wichita in south-central Oklahoma when the "general severalty act" authorizing allotments was passed in 1887. This group received allotments as members of the Caddo and Wichita groups with which they have since been incorporated, while the majority in northeastern Oklahoma received allotments as members of the Cherokee Nation.

161 162 We have no estimates of the number of Delaware at the time of their first contacts with the whites when they were living in a fairly compact body. Since then they have been scattered and connected with other tribes, with only an occasional village composed solely of Delaware. In 1824 their number was estimated as 1,500 in Kansas and 650 in Canada and scattered through New York and Ohio. In 1910 their population including the Munsee was about 1,850, of whom 895 were in Oklahoma, 55 in Kansas, about 250 Munsee with Stockbridge in Wisconsin, and 619 on three different reserves in Ontario. The 1930 figures show a slight decline, with 874 in Oklahoma.

CONTACTS

177 In their original habitat and during their migrations, the Delaware have been exposed to different types of white contact.

These may be characterized by relative size in the following 177
chronological order.

1. Until 1638. Contacts with only occasional trading ships.
2. 1638 to about 1700. Entire Delaware communities in contact with smaller white communities.
3. 1700 to 1750. Entire Delaware communities in contact with larger white communities.
4. 1751 to 1821. Contacts mainly with missionaries and traders.
5. 1821 to about 1850. Reservation life, contacts with gov- [657]
ernment officials, missionaries, traders, and smaller white communities.
6. 1850 to 1938. Delaware families on individual tracts and allotments, no longer in communities, in contact with white communities, and after 1890 surrounded by them.

At only rare and brief intervals, like the French and Indian 648
War and the Revolution, were the whites openly and militantly 177
hostile to the Delaware. Their contacts aside from these exterminating expeditions were responsible for the following types of effect.

1. Introduction of new ideas, materials, and techniques, with possible supplanting of the old ideas.
2. Introduction of other Indian elements through traders.
3. New tribal contacts through moves forced upon the Dela- [167]
ware whether by administrative action or otherwise.
4. Change in habitat, due to destruction of game, forests, etc., and settlement on reservations and allotments.

It should be pointed out that not only did the white contact range through various nationalities—Swedish, Dutch, English, French, German, and American, but white culture as a whole was also changing through the centuries of contact. The most striking aspect of this evolution was probably in technology, but the changes in attitude towards the Indians and the changes in administrative policy were also important.

In their first historical habitat the Delaware were almost 133
surrounded by closely related tribes—the Munsee, Mahican, 177
Nanticokes, Conoy, Manhattan, and other members of the Wap-

133 pinger confederacy, and the Iroquoian Susquehannas. Contacts
177 with the Iroquois were probably not very numerous until the Iroquois
destroyed the Susquehanna in 1676. In 1689 contact with
the Shawnee was first reported. Friendly relations with this tribe
have continued to the present day but were particularly close
during their residence in Ohio and Indiana. Their migrations
westward brought them in contact with many other tribes, the
Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Miami, Pawnee, Osage, Quapaw, and
Cherokee to mention only the most important.

177 It is impossible to detect the full effect of each of these contacts upon the Delaware culture. Intermarriages took place with some of these tribes that there is no way of tracing. Genealogical research among the living Delaware is of no help since, generally speaking, the horizon of their memories is reached at three generations. Also complicating the picture is the fact that adoption completely wiped out tribal origin. The effect of all these contacts with other tribes was not, however, as great as the influence of the more powerful and more divergent culture of the whites.

THE DELAWARE TODAY

162 The census of 1930 listed 971 Delaware and Munsee in the
United States, of whom 874 were living in Oklahoma. Of these
20.2 per cent were reported as full blooded. An examination of
the instructions to the enumerators of the census reveals that
the individual was asked for the percentage of Indian blood he
144 possessed and the tribe to which he belonged. The census figures
161 do not show the amount of mixture between tribes. According
to the information I could get from the Indians themselves, it
is very doubtful if there is a single full-blooded Delaware today.
Many who are less than half Delaware consider themselves all
Delaware, and would so state if casually asked, but even a short
genealogy usually shows a mixture with white blood and also
with that of other tribes. In 1865 the Indian agent among the
Delaware reported that intermarriage was lessening the Indian
blood among various tribes and that there was no remarkable in-

crease or decrease in population, although the Delaware had in- 144 161
creased some three hunderd in number.[1]

Most of the Delaware are living on their allotments scattered 101
through the territory originally reserved for the Cherokee. Few 423
of their allotments are contiguous, due to the exigencies of the
allotting and to the fact that many of the farms have been sold
when restrictions were removed. Very few of them were fortunate enough to have oil on their lands. They either farm their 434
fields or cash rent them. Judging from the state of repair of the [427]
houses, those that farm their own fields are more prosperous
than those who rent them out. This distinction is also recognized
by the Indians. The majority probably rent their fields and subsist [427]
on the small cash return, aided by the produce from their
gardens, old age pensions, and other occasional sources of income.
There is very little in the appearance of their houses to distinguish
them from their white neighbors. Clothes and automobiles also
reflect their economic status in the same way that these items do
for their white neighbors.

After their incorporation with the Cherokee, the Delaware 177
maintained their own chieftainships for a time. As the functions 615
of these clan heads ceased, so did the rules for the filling of the
offices and the need for keeping them filled. The last of the
clan chiefs died about 1900. Since that time only chiefs for the
entire Delaware group in northeastern Oklahoma have been 666
elected. These were elected mostly for business purposes—to have 622
an official representative to treat with the Federal Government
on annuities and other money matters. In the election each of
the three tribal divisions, Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey nominated
a candidate. The man getting the most votes was elected chief
and the one getting the next highest number became assistant
chief. The last election was held about 1917. The chief who
was elected then died about 1935, and since that time there has
been no recognized chief.

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[1] Pratt, John G., to J. R. Doolittle, September 15, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee . . .* (*Senate Reports*, 39 Congress, 2 session, No. 156, Washington, D. C., 1867), Appendix, p. 483.

535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a
person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have prac-
tically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility
has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has
not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has
been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived.
There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big
House, but some of them will make no move toward revival.
The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is
probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The
most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

THE PROJECT

121 The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why.

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

114 From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States,*[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3]

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so collected in making an extensive report to the War Department, at that time in charge of Indian affairs. Disappointed in many of the answers returned but determined to pursue his inquiries, Cass requested permission of John C. Calhoun, the secretary of war, to employ an extra person at an interpreter's compensation to be sent to different Indian villages for the purpose of investigating their life and to carry out other useful duties.[5] On May 31, 1823, Calhoun granted permission and on June 20, 1823, Cass informed Calhoun that he had appointed Charles C. Trowbridge to fill the office.[6]

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[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.

[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.

[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.

[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

Trowbridge had already worked with the list of queries among the Chippewa. The summer and fall of 1823 were devoted to work among the Menomini and Winnebago. About the first of December he was sent to see William Conner on the White River, in Indiana, to collect information on the language of the Delaware. William Conner was apparently the principal informant and a very able one in compiling the 284-page Delaware grammar.[7] He had been brought up among the Delaware, married a daughter of Chief Anderson, and, besides trading with members of the tribe for many years, had served as interpreter in many treaty negotiations. His services to Trowbridge were supplemented by those of Captain Pipe, a Delaware who was sent from Sandusky for the purpose. The extent of Pipe's participation in compiling the grammar is unknown, but he was principally responsible for the ethnographic information Trowbridge recorded in a thirty-seven-page manuscript.[8] Pipe was at Conner's farm only ten days of the three months that Trowbridge was there. After the Delaware study Trowbridge collected several other sets of answers: two on the Shawnee,[9] one each on the Miami,[10] Kickapoo, and Wyandot, and another on the Delaware with Cass.

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[5] Carter, Clarence E. (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States. Volume XI. The Territory of Michigan, 1820-1829* (Washington, D. C., 1943), p. 363.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 363n.

[7] Two copies of the Delaware grammar were lent to the University of Michigan by Sydney T. Miller and his daughter Mrs. Thomas B. Byrd.

[8] Two copies of this manuscript were lent to the University of Michigan by Mr. Miller and Mrs. Byrd, one bearing the title, "Traditions of the Lenēē Lenāūpee or Delawares," and the other, "Account of some of the Traditions, Manners and Customs of the Lenēē Lenāūpaa or Delaware Indians." These are deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections, Rackham Building, University of Michigan.

This extended notice of Trowbridge's activities is given because it is principally his manuscripts and others that fell into his hands that have been preserved. After Trowbridge resigned in 1825 Cass obtained funds and permission to hire three or four persons to carry on his work. Who these persons were or what they accomplished we do not know.

Previous to Trowbridge's visit to William Conner, John Johnston, Indian agent at Piqua, Ohio, sent Cass an answer on the Shawnee in his own handwriting and one on the Delaware, not in his own hand.[11] A series of answers on the Delaware found among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection has been tentatively identified as the one submitted by Johnston.[12] Identification of the author will probably never be determined as Johnston did not name the person who compiled the answers he transmitted.

While at Detroit in 1824 Trowbridge and Cass alternated in recording the answers of a Canadian Delaware or Munsee named Captain Chipps. This manuscript of seventy-two pages in the handwriting of Cass and Trowbridge is also among the Trowbridge Papers in the Burton Historical Collection and, in addition, a partial copy in Trowbridge's hand is bound together with a third copy of Pipe's relation.

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[9] See Kinietz, Vernon, and Voegelin, Erminie W. (eds.), *Shawnese Traditions. C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 9, Ann Arbor, 1939).

[10] See Kinietz, Vernon (ed.), *Meeärmeear Traditions by C. C. Trowbridge* (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Occasional Contributions*, No. 7, Ann Arbor, 1938).

[11] Johnston to Cass, May 10, 1822, The National Archives, Indian Office, Michigan Superintendency, Letterbook, No. 1, 1822, pp. 208-13.

[12] This bears the title, "Answers to the questions proposed in the Pamphlet, By the Delawares and Monsies." On the back of the manuscript in Trowbridge's handwriting is the following endorsement, "Lenēē Lenāūpaa Traditions &c."

114
128 These three relations on the Delaware, hereafter denoted by the names John Johnston, Captain Pipe and Captain Chipps, were analyzed according to the questions they answered and transcribed into an element list in terms of the information they contained. The list was designed so that the information of each account could be tabulated and the presence or absence of a trait be indicated by a symbol such as a plus or a minus in columns headed by the name of the source.

This table was then expanded to include information derived from five sources which preceded these three in point of time. In the first three columns the information from Roger Williams, Adriaen Van der Donck, and Peter Lindeström appears, in that order.[8] Only the last one of these accounts definitely relates to the Delaware. The other two are given as early accounts of tribes neighbor to the Delaware which may reflect the contemporary conditions among them as well, particularly the account of Van der Donck who included the Delaware River within the boundaries of New Netherlands. Williams' account was published in 1643, Van der Donck's was republished in 1656, and probably written about 1653, and Lindeström's account was written by him from notes made from 1654 to 1656.

In the fourth and fifth columns the information of Zeisberger and Heckewelder as contained in their published accounts is presented.[9]

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[8] Williams, Roger, "A Key into the Language of America . . . Together with Brief Observations of the Customes, Manners, and Worships, &c. of the Aforesaid Natives, in Peace and Warre, in Life and Death . . . ," in Rhode Island Historical Society, *Collections*, I(1827), 17-163; Van der Donck, Adriaen, "A Description of the New Netherlands . . . ," in New York Historical Society, *Collections*, 2 series, I(1841), 129-242; Johnson, Amandus (ed. and trans.), *Geographia Americae with an Account of the Delaware Indians Based on Surveys and Notes Made in 1654-1656 by Peter Lindeström* . . . (The Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, 1925).

[9] Hulbert, Archer B., and Schwarze, William N. (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX(1910), 1-189; Heckewelder, John, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States* . . . (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, XII, Philadelphia, 1876).

After these historical accounts information on the same points 114
obtained from four informants among the Oklahoma Delaware 128
was recorded. It had been the original plan to conclude the tabulation of accounts of different periods with a survey of present customs among the Delaware. In the field work, however, it soon became apparent that such a survey would be meaningless [126]
if it did not include work with practically every person with Delaware blood. Furthermore, it was difficult for the informants to give coherent accounts of both past and present customs. In the end, the relations of several older people were taken for past customs and four of them constitute the accounts of the last period in the tabulation. Even though they never participated in some of the elements covered, their relations undoubtedly are representative of the period when there was a more unified and distinct Delaware culture; whereas, no handful of informants could possibly be responsible for all the aspects of the diversified practices and beliefs of the present. There was no selection of informants' accounts and rejection of others except on the basis of completeness.

This table is given on pages 22 to 37.

The exact phrasing of the Cass questions could not be used in working with the informants, as they were designed to be answered by persons familiar with the Indians rather than by the Indians themselves. The four informants whose accounts 128
were used were: 126

J. W.: Joe Washington, Wann, Okla. Age 65. Wolf Clan. 115

W. T.: Willie Thomas, Anadarko, Okla., Age 65. Turtle Clan.

E. R.: Eli H. Reynolds, Anadarko, Oklahoma. Age 43. Only his mother was Delaware. She was Turkey and Wolf.

W. L.: Willie Longbone, Dewey, Okla. Age 70. Turtle Clan.

The information derived from these twelve accounts, beginning with that of Roger Williams, was analyzed in the sequence in which the various elements are entered in the table. Following the table there is a discussion of those elements showing any change over the entire period covered by the various accounts. Finally, there is a section of ethnographic notes on some of the elements.

114 126 128 The twelve accounts may be divided into two groups on the basis of their origin. The first eight were obtained from written sources, five published and three unpublished. The last four were obtained from field work among the modern Delaware. For convenience, the first group will hereafter be called sources and the last group informants. Considering the time of inscribing or of obtaining the information on which they are based, the eight sources are found to form three groups and to represent three periods: the first composed of the accounts of Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström, dated 1643, 1653, 1656, respectively; the second, of the accounts of Zeisberger, 1780, and Heckewelder, whose account, although not published until 1819, is considered contemporaneous, as he left active mission work in 1786; and the third group, of the three Cass manuscripts dated 1823 and 1824. The accounts of the modern informants constitute the fourth group and period.

In the discussion of the different elements, comparison is usually between the accounts as grouped in these four periods. As page references to citations from the accounts of the three manuscripts and the four informants are impossible, they have been omitted for the published accounts also, in the interests of uniformity. When neither the tabulation of the material from the different accounts nor the section of ethnographic notes amplifying or qualifying the tabulated element list indicates the existence of any problem on any element, that element is omitted in the discussion. Numbers in parentheses refer to the numbers given to the elements on the table.

DISCUSSION OF THE ELEMENTS

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

821 The Delaware of the present indicate a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics that was not reported in historical accounts (3, 13). Whereas lack of knowledge or understanding on the part of some of the early reporters may be responsible for
177 some of the apparent change, it is more reasonable to assign the cause of several of these changes to white contact. Belief in the

roundness of the earth was denied until the fourth period (3). 821
This definitely dates the emergence of the element in the period 177
of greatest white influence. Since, in this period, the economy of the Delaware closely paralleled that of most of their white neighbors, it is not surprising that a knowledge of arithmetic in the abstract appeared that had been denied in former periods (13). The period three denials of opinions respecting the planetary system are refuted by the statements of Zeisberger and appear to be the result of confusion on the part of the authors between opinions and knowledge (1). The opinions of the Indians may have been erroneous, but they undoubtedly had them, as their names for stars and the myths concerning them show.

The division of the year into twelve months or moons to agree with the European usage appears to have been accomplished very early (7). Roger Williams reported thirteen months in 1643 but did not name them. Heckewelder gives the names of eleven months, omitting what would correspond to our November.

Religion

Religion among the Delaware appears to have been very in- 771
susceptible to change. From the records available, over three hundred years of white contact and more or less continuous missionary efforts have produced only one significant change.

The concept of a Supreme Being, superior to subordinate good 776
and evil deities, who has moral superintendence over worshipers that pray to Him for favors and assistance, is reported from 1643 to the present day, with only occasional dissent and never denial from all sources for any one period. On the belief in a 775
future state of punishments and rewards for which judgment is given immediately after death, there is again complete agreement.

The belief in the whereabouts of the places of habitation of 775
the souls of good and bad, has, however, undergone modification 177
(37). Roger Williams and Van der Donck recorded southwest and south, respectively, as the direction in which lay the land of

(Continued on p. 38)

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TABLE OF ELEMENTS

+ = element present
— = element denied
(+) or (—) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.												
1. Any opinion respecting the planetary system				+		—	•—	—	+	+	+	+
2. Origin myth		+			+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+
3. Earth is round				—	—			—	+	•+	•+	•+
4. immovable, shakes but does not revolve				+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+
5. Divide year into 4 seasons	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Names	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Divide year in ___ moons or months †	13			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	•	12
8. Sun is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
9. Moon is deity †	+	+		+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
10. Opinion respecting eclipses †				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•
11. Names for any star	+	+		+	+	—	•	—	+	+	+	+
12. Count by tens	+			+		+			+	•	+	+
13. Arithmetic in abstract				—		—	—	—	+	+	+	+
14. Four cardinal points †	+					+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+
15. Prognostics respecting weather						+	•	+	+	+	+	+
16. Meteors are indication of evil †						+	•	•	+	+	S	+
17. are misbehaving stars moving							+	•	—		+	—
18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon						•—	—	•—	—	—	—	—
19. Calculate time of reappearance †						+	—	+	+	+	•	+
20. Regulate course in unknown country												
by the sun						+		+		+	+	+
by stars							+			+	+	+
Religion												
21. Concept of Supreme Being †	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
22. Subordinate deities †	+		(+)	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	+
23. Evil Spirits †			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
24. Supreme Being superior to subordinate and evil spirits				+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
25. Subordinate spirits dominant over evil spirits					+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+

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26. Moral superintendence of Supreme Being over worshipers		−	(+)		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
27. Pray to Him for favors or assistance	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
28. Deposit tobacco on stones, mountains, etc. for favors					+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+
29. Tobacco sacrificed for success in hunting	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
30. Believe in a future state of punishments and rewards	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+
31. Final judgment						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Mental or corporeal pleasures in future state of existence		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Judgment immediately after death		+?				+	+	+	+	+	+	•+
34. Souls of worthy go to place of happiness or abode of Supreme Being	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Souls of bad go to land of bad spirits or hell							+	+	−	+	+	−
left on earth or no good place	+	+		+		+			−	+	−	−
36. Tortured or unhappy in either place		+		+		+			−	+	·	−
37. Direction of habitation of good souls	SW	S		S		Up	S	·	Up	Up	W& Up	Up
bad souls						Up	·	·	Up		Up	Up
38. Believe in ghosts		+		+		+	+	−	+	+	+	S
39. Have priests	+	+		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
40. Witches and wizards		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
41. National worshiping society †				+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Medicine												
42. Diseases to which peculiarly liable †												
Bowel disorders				+	+	+			+		+	−
Consumption					+				+	−	−	+
Pleurisy						+			−		+	
Chills and fevers	+			+	+			+	+	+	+	+
Dysentery				+					−		+	
Rheumatism				+	+				+	−	•+	−
Boils				+					+		−	
43. Remedies usually roots and herbs	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
44. Bleeding common			+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+
45. Cupping common				+					−	−	−	−
46. Sweating common	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
47. Medical profession	+	−	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
48. Receive any education					−	−		−	−	−	−	−
49. Called by divine agency in youth								+	+	+	+	+
50. Count pulse						−		+	+	+	−	−
51. Inquire into nature of complaint						+		+	+	+	+	+

343 755 756 757 164 794 754 793 775 782 776

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623 574 858 562 191 538 576 266 793 755 756 342

		Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Medicine—Continued													
52.	Perform surgical operation				(—)		—		—	—	—	—	—
53.	Unite profession with priesthood	(+)		(+)			—		—	—	—	—	—
54.	Always use juggling tricks †	+	S	S	S	S	—		—	S		S	S
55.	Beat on own breast	+		(+)		+	+			+	+	+	+
56.	Blow in hands	+		(+)		±	+			+	—	+	+
57.	Make rumbling noise	+		+	+		+			+	+	+	+
58.	Blow on patient	+		+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+
59.	Rub the part affected						+			+	+	+	+
60.	Have effect on patient's confidence						+			+	+	+	+
General Manners and Customs													
61.	Eat human flesh			*(—)	—	—	—	•	—	—	—	—	—
62.	Shake hands on meeting; inquire about health and express gladness to see	(±)			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
64.	Great respect paid age or rank				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
65.	Visit one another for purpose of conversation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
66.	Regular parties at which they entertain				+		+	•	•	+	+	+	+
67.	Practice of telling stories				+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+
68.	In winter and at night only						+	•	•	+	+	+	*+
69.	Use words equivalent to swearing		—		—		+	—	—	—	—	—	—
70.	Exhibit strong feelings of love, friendship and affection to same sex					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
71.	to opposite sex						+	—	+	+	—	+	•
72.	common to try to suppress to same sex						+	—	+	+	—	—	+
73.	common to try to suppress to opposite sex						+	+	+	+	—	—	•
74.	Matter of pride to suppress feelings or excitement, especially fear and shame				+		+	•	+	+	(+)	+	+
75.	On return home men treat wives with indifference					+	+	+	•	—	+	—	+
76.	On return home men treat children with indifference					—	—	•	•	—	—	—	—
77.	Powers of recollection strong			+		+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
78.	Any peculiarities in encampments (except war) or building of huts that distinguish from others				+		*+	•	•	•	+	*+	+

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79. Tell tribe and number by examining encampment †				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
80. Different from other tribes in color								+	−	+	−	+
81. language						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
82. religious tenets						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
83. greater degree of sociability, friendship, hospitality						+	•	•	•+	•+	+	+
84. Suppose themselves to be different (better)						+	•	+	+	±	+	+
85. Women's condition easy and contented					+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+
86. Women obliged to do all the drudgery					−	−	•	+	−	−	−	−
87. considered as menial servants of men					−	−	•	+	−	−	−	−
88. Spare lives of snakes because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them †		−			+	+	+	+	+	•	−	+
Birth and its incidents												
89. Any ceremony at naming of child †				+		−	+	+	+	−	−	+
90. Any particular age of naming †			•+	−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
91. Names are descriptive				+	+		+		•+		s	+
92. chosen by parents				+	+			+	+	+	s	•
93. from dreams of parents or grandparents				+		•+			−		•+	+
94. taken from father						−	+	s	−		−	
95. taken from mother		+				−		s	−		−	
96. taken from grandparents						−		+	−		−	
97. Individual has more than one name				−		s	−	−	−	−	•−	•−
98. Change later in life				+	+	+	+		−	−	−	−
99. Individual selects						+	+					
100. Generally unwilling to tell their names				+		−	+	+	−	+	+	−
101. Call one another by their names in their youth within the family	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. Children address parents by titles	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Education consists of teaching how to hunt, instruction in religion and general advice			+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+
104. Restraint over children				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
105. Corporeal punishment †	(−)			+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106. Definite age at which childhood ceases †						−	+	+	+	•	+	+
107. Children ever adopted by near relatives				•(−)		•−	+	−	•+	+	+	+
108. Orphans taken in without adoption by nearest relatives						+	−	+	−	+		+
109. by maternal grandparents						−	+	−	−			−
110. by paternal grandparents												+
111. by anyone in particular next						−	−	−	−		−	−
112. Are considered to belong to family with or without adoption				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
	597	856	868	861	576	787	551	555	784	562	142	621

595 585 584 851 846 848 562 858 352 854 866 858

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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Birth and its incidents—Continued												
113. Parents exercise any control over mature children						+	+	+	+	+	*+	*+
114. Age children are expected to maintain themselves					20+	15-25		20	25	25	16-17+	20-22
115. Child given daily bath †		+				+	•	•	+	+	+	+
116. Cradle used	+	(—)	+	+		+	+	+	—	+	+	*+
117. Consists of board	+		+	+		+	+	+		•	•	+
118. with cushion			—			+	+	+		•	•	+
119. with hoop over head			+			+	+	+		•	•	+
120. hoop decorated						+	•	•		•	•	+
121. Cradle put in hammock						•	+	•			+	+
122. Boys and girls treated with equal care and affection						+	+	+	+	+	s	+
123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate	(—)	—				—	—	—	•	*—	—	—
124. Mother takes care of illegitimate	+	+				+	+	+	+	•	+	+
125. Father not compelled to contribute but may do so						+	+	•	+	•	+	+
126. Birth of twins frequent	+			—		—	+	—	+	+	—	+
127. Number of instances of triplets						0	1	1	0	0	0	0
128. Are parental feelings strong	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Are filial feelings strong	—			+	+	s	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Do they (128 and 129) continue through life				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marriage and its incidents												
131. Courtship				—	—	—	—	*(+)	—	—	*—	—
132. Marriage arranged by parents	(+)	+	—	s	+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
133. Consent of either party asked	+	+	+	+	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	—
134. Any ceremony of marriage †		+	+	—	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	+
135. Presents for bride	(+)	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Presents for family of bride	(+)					+	+		+	+	+	+
137. Presents exchanged				+	+	•	+	•	—	—	—	—
138. Time served by boy						•	—	•	—	—	—	—
139. Polygamy common †	—	—		—		—	—	—	•	—	—	—
140. Only rich or chiefs have more than one		+		+		+	+	+			+	+

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141. Any superiority among wives					+	+	−			+	−
142. strongest					+						
143. oldest										+	
144. youngest						+					
145. Polyandry					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
146. Sororate — polygynous					+	+	+	−	−	−	+
147. Sororate — successive			+		+	+	−		+	+	+
148. Sororate — obligatory			−		*+	−			*+	−	−
149. Marriage of man to woman and daughter			+		+	+	+	−	−	−	−
150. Adultery criminal in the woman	+	+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	•
151. Equally so in the man		+	+		+	+	•	+	+	+	•
152. Punished only by separation	+	−	(−)		+	+		+	(+)	+	+
153. Divorce on grounds of infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+
154. Without any particular cause	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
155. May be limited by husband		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
156. by wife		+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+
157. Women seldom get divorce				+	+	+	+	+		−	−
158. Children stay with mother until able to choose for themselves		+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	*+
159. Marriage with near relatives prohibited to very remote degree of relationship						+	+				
160. to any known degree			+		+			+	+	+	+
161. Cohabitation without marriage common		+			+	•	•	−	−	−	+
162. Do individuals live to advanced age without being married					+	+	+	+	•	+	+
163. Commonly					−	−	−	−	−	−	−
164. Common for unmarried women to have children		+			+	+	+	−	−	−	+
165. Injurious to their reputations		+			+	*+	+	−		−	−
166. Are they punished		−				−	−	+		−	−
167. Affect chances of marriage		−			−	−		+		+	+
168. Proportion of married women without children †											
169. Average number of children in family			•	*4-5	3	•	12	12	12	4-5	8-10
170. Average interval between births (yrs.)					2-3	•	'2	2	1	2-3	2+
171. Age women generally begin to bear children					16	•	16	30	21	18- 20	20
172. Age to cease					40	•	40	50+	70	•	50
173. Age that men commonly get married		• •	18- 20		15- 25	F30	20	25	25	18- 21	17+ F20
174. Age that women commonly get married		•	14- 16		•	F24	20	20	20	16- 21	17+ F20

885 886 848 538 836 582 586 857 587 595

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587
765
764

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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Clipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	*+
180. By unrelated persons		—			(+)	•	+	•	+	—	+	*+
181. Kept — nights before burial		S	S	(1)	1	1	1	*1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		*—	*—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth — feet						3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	—	—	+	—	+	+	+	—	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				—	—	•	+	•	—	—	—	—
188. Cremation					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		—	S	—	—	—	—	—	—
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for — months	3- 12	12	*12	12		*	*9	9	*12	*12	12	*
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		*—		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					—	+	•	—	•	—
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	•	+		+		+	+	+	+	*+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		*	+	•	•	+	S	*+
200. Visits grave — nights				365	21	6-7	6	*	3	4	•	4
201. Visits grave — dawns				365		—	6		—	—	—	—

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202. Other relatives observe mourning ___ days	90- 365					•	12	0	365	4	4	3-4
203. Dread the approach of death	+			+	+	+	S	+	−	−	−	+
204. Die in full possession of faculties (generally)						−	+	•	+	+	•	•
205. Take leave of friends						S	+	+	+	+	S	+
206.* Believe bodies will be restored						+	•+	•+	−	−	−	−
207. Disposition of property—to nearest kin †				−			•	+		+	+	+
208. to others †				+	+	+	•		+			+
Lineage												
209. Nation divided into ___ tribes †				3	3	3	3	8	3	3	3	3
210. Division for purposes of government				−		+	+	−	+		+	−
211. On religious grounds				−		•	•	+	−			−
212. Attended by good effect						+	+	•	+			•
213. Tribes are exogamous				+	+				•			
214. Tribes are endogamous										+		
215. Matrilineal descent		+		+	+		+		+	+	(+)	+
Chiefs												
216. Civil chieftainship hereditary		−	(+)	−		−	−	•+	−	−	•(+)	−
217. Son succeeds		−	(+)	−		−	−	−	−	−	(+)	−
218. Brother first choice		−		−		+		+	−	−	(+)	−
219. Nephew (sister's son) next		−		+		+		+	−	−	(+)	−
220. Woman could be				−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−
221. Election of civil chief		+	−	+		+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+
222. By people		+		−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+
223. By counselors				•+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
224. Installed by other tribes				+		•	•	(+)	?		−	−
225. Can be removed				+		+	•+	+	+	−	+	+
226. Chief names successor			−					+	+	−	+	+
227. Can dismiss successor								+	+	−	•	•
228. Any particular age at succession †						−		+	+	+	+	−
229. Both civil and war chiefs				+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230. Number of civil chiefs per tribe						1	1	1	1	1	1	1
231. Number of war chiefs per tribe						1	1	2	1	1	1	1
232. Boundary between civil and war chiefs		+		+		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
233. Civil chief has authority superior to war chief in peace	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
234. Stops on declaration of war		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+
235. War chief hereditary				−								−
236. War chief elected				−			+				−	+

643 611 582 614 768 775 761 765

683 684 627 632 685 686 436 623 781 643

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Chiefs—Continued												
237. War chief chosen through vision power				+	+				+	+	+	+
238. Body of counselors †	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
239. Name '.upwaenowuk							+		(+)	+	•	+
240. Chosen by people						+	+	•	+	+	+	+
241. Consider all matters of importance to tribe		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
242. Counselors and chiefs only present at council meetings		S?		S	S	+	+		S	S	S	S
243. All adults except women admitted				S				+	+	S	S	S
Justice												
244. Any mode of compelling payment of debt				+		—	—	—	—	—	—	—
245. Relatives of debtor make restitution				+	+		S		+		+	+
246. Creditor uses force							S	+	*+		+	—
247. Redress for civil injuries (theft)	*+	+	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	—	+	+
248. Injured party applies to chief		+			—		+		+		+	+
249. Any punishment inflicted by nation if restitution is made		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
250. Injured party has right to kill thief on second offense		—			+			+	+		+	+
251. Murder punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252. By nation	+	—	+	—	—	—	—	—	+	•	—	+
253. Breach closed by presents		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	+
254. Amount of wampum as presents †				+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
255. Lacking presents, revenge by relatives	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
256. Revenge duty of any individual		*+			—	—	—	—	*+	—	—	*+
257. Any one interfere from duty		*+				—	•	—	—	•	•	•
258. Guilty submits	+	*—				+	+	+	+	+	•	S
259. Feud arise from revenge		*+					—	—	—	—	•	—
260. Revenge approved by nation	+		+	+		+			+	+	•	+
261. Crimes. Theft	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
262. Rape		+					+		+	+	+	+
263. Adultery	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Desertion of children								+	+	(+)	*+	
265. Drunkenness and slander	+							+	+	(+)		

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266. Any of these punished	+	−		−	+		−	+	+	(−)	+	+
267. Age of youth becoming a man								20	25	25	21	20 24
268. Determined by own ability		+				+			−	−	−	−
269. Murder of wife by husband punished						−	−	−	+	?	S	+
270. Her relatives might revenge if they considered act unwarranted						+			−		+	+
Family Government												
271. Husband treats wife with tenderness and respect				+	+	+			+	+	+	+
272. Provides meat	+	+			+	+			+	+	+	+
273. Provides clothing					+	+			+	+	+	+
274. Provides other necessities					+	+			+	+	+	+
275. Wife obeys husband					+	+				+	+	+
276. Makes clothing	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+
277. Makes and mends moccasins	+	+			+	+		+	+	+	+	+
278. Raises corn and other crops	+	+		+	+	+		+	−	−	−	+
279. Cooks	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
280. Provides fuel		+		+	+	+		+	−	−	+	+
281. Manual labor falls on wife		+		+	S	+		+	−	−	−	+
282. Moving camp devolves upon women					+	−		−	−	−	−	+
283. Husband frequently strikes wife					−	−		−	−	−	−	−
284. If she is ill-tempered or refractory						+		+	−	−	−	
285. Same affection and unreserved intercourse between spouses as in civilized life				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
286. Woman ever exercise government over children				+	+	+			+	+	+	+
287. Woman ever at the head of the establishment				+		+			+	+	+	+
Food, mode of living, etc.												
288. Animals which are not used for food: several kinds					+	+			+	·		+
289. Very few	(+)		(+)					+		·	+	
290. Opossum								+	+	+	+	+
291. Otter								+				
292. Vegetable products eaten: All kinds								+		+	·	+
293. Number of kinds					+	+			+			
294. Wild or ground potatoes				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
295. Corn	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Beans	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
297. Pumpkins (squash)	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+

262 681 484 244 562 885 593 681 462 593 885 682 884

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Indiana Historical Society

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S = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Food, mode of living, etc.—Continued												
298. Vegetables introduced by whites				+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
299. Wild rice				(−)		−		−	−	+	−	−
300. Have regular meals		−			+	−		−	+	+	+	−
301. Generally eat together (family)		(+)						+	−	+	+	−
302. Men and women eat together		(+)				+		+	+	+	+	+
303. Neat in their cooking			−	S	+	−		+	+	+	+	+
304. Several cooking modes		−	+		*+	+		+	+	+	+	+
305. Generally prefer well done			−	+					+	+	+	+
306. Commonly eat in the night						−		+	−	−	−	−
307. Eat every kind of fish		+	(+)			+		+	−	+	•	+
Hunting												
308. Use bow and arrow	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+
309. Rifle and fowling piece		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Blow gun for birds and small game								+	+	+	•	+
311. Deadfall for raccoon	+					+			+	+	+	+
312. Torches at night on water for deer						+			•	+	•	•
313. Fish with spears	+		−					+	+	+	+	+
314. With hook and line	+	+	−					+	+	•	+	+
315. By shooting with arrows	+		+						+	+	+	+
316. Hunt in large parties	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+
317. Number in party	300	100				10-15		40-50		15	4	6-7
318. Any attendant ceremonies			*(+)	−		−		−		+	+	+
319. Under guidance of oldest or most expert			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
320. Any peculiar laws in hunting			+	+	•	−	•	+	+	+	+	+
321. When two are hunting and one kills animals, it is divided equally				(+)		+		+	(+)	(+)	+	+
322. Person who kills or first wounds animal entitled to whole when stranger appears						+						
323. to skin and half of carcass				+				+	+			+

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946

NM7 Delaware NM7

324. to carcass alone					+							+
325. to skin alone				+	+							
326. keeps none				+						+	S	
327. Tobacco burned as sacrifice to deities for good luck in hunting				(+)		+			+	+	+	+
328. Hunting pursued in summer		S	+						+	+	+	+
329. in autumn	+	+	+	+					+	+	+	+
330. in winter		S							+	+	+	
331. in spring			+									+
332. Ceremony when individual kills first animal			+	+		+			+	+	+	+
333. Sacrifice to deities or spirits of deceased friends						+			−			
334. Sacrifice made nocturnally						+			−			−
335. Friend is invited who eats sacrifice and makes prayers for good luck						+			+			+
336. Youth presents first animal to some of the old folks				+				+	+	+	+	+
337. Male animal to man, female to woman				+					−	−		−
338. On return from hunting celebrate with feast	(+)			+		(+)		+	−	•+	−	−
339. with dance	(+)			+				S	−	−	−	−

Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.

340. Hair on body		+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
341. on face		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	−	+	+
342. Beard extirpated		−	+	+	+	+		+	•+	•−	•−	
343. Hair on body thinner than on body of whites		+				+		+	+	+	+	+
344. Hair on head thicker than on head of whites		+				+			+	+	+	+
345. Men's hairdress: Cut or shave hair short, except for tuft or queue	S		+	+	+	+		+	+	−	•	+
346. Queue is in two braids		+	+	+		+			−	+	•	−
347. one forward and other to rear						+				•+	•	
348. Ornamented		+	+	(+)		+		+	+	•	•	+
349. Women's hairdress: Fastened behind the head	(+)	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	•	•+
350. In square bunch	(+)		+			+					•	
351. In braid			+					+	+	+	•	
352. Clubbed and enclosed in something		+	+	+		+		+	+	+	•	
353. Ornamented	+	+				S			+		•	
354. Paint faces for ornament	+					+		+	+	+	•	+
355. Average length of life						40		70-80	70	300	•	•
356. Extreme point of longevity						140		120	115	300	•	•

165 301 302 142 796 535 852 221 249 782 224

1942 1721 1722 1726 1725

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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
357. Average height						•		•	5'9"	5'10"	•	5'10"
358. All have high cheek bones						—		+	+		—	+
Constitution, personal appearance, dress, etc.—Continued												
359. Constitutions more rugged than that of whites						•+		+	+	+		+
360. General state of health better than that of whites								+	+	+		+
War and its incidents												
361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs	+			•(+)		+	+	+	+	•+	+	•
362. Declared by killing and scalping enemy				+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	
363. Preceded by demand for redress					+	S	+	•	+		+	
364. Notice of war given					—	—	—		+		•+	
365. Notify allied tribes				+			+		•	•	•	
366. War chief determines mode of conducting						+	+		+		+	
367. Force raised by call for volunteers		+				+	+	+	+	+	+	
368. Destination determined by war chief						+	+	•	—		—	
369. Commander appointed by civil chiefs						—	+	+	+		+	
370. Commander volunteers						+	—	—	—		—	
371. Inferior officers appointed by commander						—	+	+	+		+	
372. Inferior officers volunteer						+	—	•	—		—	
373. Cooks are on permanent appointment							+		(+)		+	
374. Ceremonies before start of expedition: General assembly				+		+	+	+	+		+	
375. Feast				•+			•+	•+	•+		+	
376. Dance				+	+		+	+	—		+	
377. Civil chief cautions party				+		+	+		+			
378. Subdivisions of forces on march	+				S	—	+		+		+	
379. Each man carries own provisions	+			+		+	+	+	+	—	+	
380. Discipline preserved	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	
381. March in single file				+	S	+	•+	•	(+)	•—	•—	
382. Encampment arranged East and West						+	•+	+	•—		•—	
383. Number of poles parallel to fires						2	2	1	•	•	•	
384. Guns stacked against poles						+	+	•+	•	•	•	
385. Exit only at end of poles						+	+	+	•	•	•	

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	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
419. War chief leaves war club at house of enemy chief to show desire for peace						—	—	+	*+	•	—	•
420. Delaware act part of mediators between other tribes						+	+	•	+	•	•	+
421. Terms of peace negotiated				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace—Continued												
422. By village chiefs							+	+	+	+	+	+
423. By council							+				+	+
424. By persons appointed					+	+						
425. Ceremonies at conclusion of peace: Dancing		+				+	+	—	+	—	+	+
426. Feasts						—	*(+)	—	+	*+	+	+
427. Belts exchanged				+			+	+	+		+	+
428. Pipe smoked				+	+	+	—	+	+	+	+	+
429. Anything like flags of truce before whites					—	—	—		*+	•	+	•
430. Flags or armorial bearings					—	—	—	•	•	•	—	•
Games												
431. Ball play				+		•	+	+	—	+	—	—
432. Football	+					+	•	•	*+	*+	+	*+
433. Dice game	+			+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Number of colors				2		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
435. Number of dice				6		5-6	6	6	7	6	8	12
436. Cards	*+	*+		+		+		+	—	+	—	*+
437. Quoits				+					—	—	+	+
438. Wrestling				+		+		+	+	+	+	+
439. Racing	+					+		+	+	+	+	+
440. Jumping						+		+	+	+	+	+
441. Hopping						+			+	*+	+	+
442. Lifting stones				+					—	*+	+	+
443. Throwing stones				+					+	+	+	+
444. Shooting and throwing arrows									+	+	+	+
445. Fond of gambling	+	+		+		—		+	S	S	+	+

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386. War chief determines question of battle						+	+	•+	+		+	
387. Plan of operations previously arranged						+	+	+	−		+	
388. If victorious, any ceremonies on field					•+	−	−	−	−	(+)	(+)	
389. If defeated, a rallying point fixed						+	+	−	+	+	•	
390. Ceremonies on return if victorious						−	+	+	+	+	+	
391. Dance					+			+	+	+	+	
392. Report to council and given feast							+		(+)			
393. Ceremonies on return if defeated						−	−	−	(+)	−	•(+)	
394. Prisoners run the gantlet				+	+		+		•	−	•	
395. Burned		+	(−)	+	(+)	−	•+	−	−	−	•	
396. Generally adopted		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	(+)	
397. Prisoners of mature age adopted					+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
398. Considered members of adopting family		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
399. Age of beginning to bear arms						12-15	24	16	•14	15	14	
400. Age of ceasing to bear arms				50+				70				
401. As long as physically able						+	+		+	+	+	
402. Defensive armor		+	+	+	−	−		−	+	−	+	
403. War caused only by injuries—retaliation	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	
404. Disputed boundaries only after coming of whites					+	+		+	+	+	+	
405. Principal chief states injuries, and calls for volunteers, no arguments used	−					+	+	+	+	+	+	
406. Feasts precede march				+		−	+		+	+	+	
407. Fasts precede march							−		+			
408. Consultation of jugglers before march						−	−	•−	+	+	+	
409. Provision made for care of wounded	+			+		−	+	+	+	−	+	
410. Women accompany war party						−	•−	•−	−	−	−	
411. Any actions fought in canoes	+					−	−	−	+	−	−	
412. Sieges prosecuted or defended		−				−	−	−	+	−	+	
413. Large parties go to war		−		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
414. Small parties depending upon surprise		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
415. Scalps taken	•−			+	+			+	+	+	+	+
Peace												
416. Ambassadors sent to negotiate					+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+
417. Persons of ambassadors sacred					•+	+	+	•	+		+	
418. Carry belt of white wampum to manifest desire for peace, delivered with speech					(+)	+	+	−	•+		+	+

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446.	Indian in bearskin jumps from hole to hole while others shoot at him					–		–	–	–	–	–
447.	Moccasin game †					+			+	+	+	+
	Dances											
448.	Engomween (Worshiping dance)			+		+	+		+	+	+	+
449.	Linkaokon (common or corn dance)			+		+	+	+	+	+	•	+
450.	Buffalo					+		+	•+	+	+	+
451.	Begging					+		+	–	–	•	•
452.	Bear					+			+	+	+	+
453.	War (Skawseeokon)	+		+	+	+		+	•+	•+	•+	+
454.	Co-coze-kon †			(+)		+			–	–	•	+
455.	Peace			+					+	+	+	+
456.	Dances for religious purposes: Engomween			(+)		+	+		+	+	+	+
457.	Linkaokon			(+)		+	+	+	+	+	•	+
458.	Dances for war ceremonies: War dance	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+
459.	Begging dance							+	•	•	•	•
460.	Buffalo dance							+	+			–
461.	Women participate in dancing			+		+		+	+	+	+	+
462.	Excluded from war dance				+	+		•(+)	+	•	+	•+
463.	Dance in circle			+		+		+	+	•+	•+	•+
464.	Men in front			+		+		•	+	+	+	+
465.	Women in rear			+		+		•	+	+	+	+
	Music											
466.	Instruments: Drum	–		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+
467.	Folded deerskins						+		+	+		+
468.	Deerskin over frame or kettle			+					+	+	+	+
469.	Rattle					+	+		+	+	+	+
470.	Flute					+		+	•	+	+	+
471.	Number of holes							6		6		8
472.	Used by young men in courting					–				–		–
473.	Different music for different occasions				+	–		+	+	+		+
474.	Music for war ceremonies more solemn and impressive than for others				+			+	–	•	•	+
475.	No ceremonial music except solo singing					+			–	–	•	–
476.	Only nonsense or insignificant words in songs				–	+		+	–	+		–

526 524 535 721 716 534 533

775 abode of the souls of the good. In the second and third periods south is again mentioned as the direction of the land of good souls. However, in the third period the directions up and down for the location of the future abodes of the souls of good and bad persons appear. In the fourth period, the ascension of the souls of the good is unanimously asserted, while only one added that they also went west. This informant, E. R., also said that souls of the bad went down, whereas W. T., also of Anadarko, said that they stayed here on earth. W. L., of Dewey, said that souls of bad persons went to all the places on earth where they had committed their evil actions and were there punished. All this happened in the eleven days between death and the departure of the soul for the celestial abode of the Great Spirit.

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177 The Delaware have thus approached the popular Christian notions on this point but still retain some of their earlier concepts. The exposition of the modern Delaware clears up the confusion and seeming contradictions that exist in the earlier accounts as to the final disposition of the souls of the bad. There can be little doubt that missionary teaching was responsible for the idea of a hell which cropped up in the third period as a belief of the Delaware (35).

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177 There are two exceptions to the continuity of concepts otherwise shown by the elements under *Religion*. One is the report of priests in the first period and not thereafter (39). There was probably no change between the first and second periods but merely the discontinuance of the word priest to designate the shamans who were present in all periods. The other exception is the dissenting voice of Captain Chipps on such subjects as subordinate deities, ghosts, witches, and the national worshiping society (22, 38, 40, 41). Chipps was a Canadian Delaware or Munsee and probably the descendant of several generations of Moravian converts, for his account of the religion of the Delaware reflects much greater acceptance of Christian teachings than any of the accounts of the Oklahoma Delaware. The national
794 worshiping society or Big House Ceremony as it is now known,
797 was apparently successfully suppressed by the Moravian missionaries among the Canadian Delaware.

A cogent reason for the survival of religious beliefs of the 794
Delaware was the vehicle by which they were transmitted from 177
generation to generation, the national worshiping society or Big House. The reaction to the introduction of white ways expressed itself in the integration of a number of original ceremonies. Some Christian elements were unconsciously incorporated along the way, but these were principally modifications of, rather than substitutes for, native concepts. The accounts of the national worshiping society given by John Johnston and Captain Pipe are included in the section of ethnographic notes.[1] I have discussed some of the changes in the ceremony itself during historic times in another article.[2]

Medicines

The information on the ailments prevalent at the time of first 164
contact with the whites is very limited. Williams indicates that chills and fevers and toothaches were the most common disturbances to the health of the Narragansets. He and Lindeström mention plagues and the French disease among the Indians of their time. Smallpox was a plague for which Williams gave a native name. From their lack of resistance to many diseases prevalent in Europe, it has often been postulated that the Indians had not been exposed to them before white contact. The evidence compiled in this study neither proves nor disproves this assumption, although, of course, the modern informants say that in ancient times the Indians were very healthy and had no ills until the white man introduced them. This is in accord with the principle of former good times that is universal in its application.

Changes between early and late periods show up in two elements but are open to question as to the reliability of interpretation of the early information. First, Zeisberger, alone of the
authors of the sources, reported cupping in practice among the 757
Delaware (45). This was denied by all the modern informants although cupping by sucking was known among other tribes.

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[1] See *post*, pp. 93-97.

[2] Kinietz, Vernon, "European Civilization as a Determinant of Native Indian Customs," in *American Anthropoligist*, N. S. XLII(1940), 116-21.

757 Since Zeisberger merely listed cupping as a therapeutic device
without giving any details, it is impossible to check his statements
756 absolutely. The other element indicating change is in the union
793 of the medical profession with the priesthood (53). As sug-
gested previously, shamans may have been meant by priests. If
this was so, of course, the two were united, but, if by "priests"
was meant the leaders in the ceremonies of the tribe, the later
sources and the informants deny such a union. Our information
from the earliest accounts of the ceremonies is insufficient to
judge whether there has been a change in function or a change
in terms.

757 Evidence on the practice of counting the pulse was equally divided in both the third and fourth periods (50). Entire absence of information on this point prior to 1822 and the division of opinion thereafter strongly suggests that this element was borrowed from the whites sometime around the beginning of the nineteenth century but was not completely accepted.

343 Sweat baths were mentioned in every period as a cure or pre-
756 ventive of disease (46). They were also described by Lindeström,
755 but he did not attach any benefits to their use. The three older
informants, J. W., W. T., and W. L., reported that there was a
separate category of shamans called sweat doctors who used the
sweat bath partly for its curative properties but principally as
an aid to diagnosis. The fact that use of juggling tricks by
medicine men was not uniformly reported by the sources may be
explained by the statements of the informants who claimed that
only the sweat doctors used them (54). The sweat doctors might
effect their cures with sweat baths or they might merely make a
diagnosis and leave the cure to some other shaman. A descrip-
tion of a sweat doctor's procedure was given by J. W. as follows:

755 "J. W.'s father was a sweat doctor. Had vision. Only those built houses. Built fire, put in six limestone rocks, dug little hole on north side of sweat house inside for rocks after they were hot. Pallet for patient on south side of hole, head outside (on east side) of blankets covering house. Leaves patient there ten to fifteen minutes while old man is getting ready a gallon of water with weeds of a certain kind immersed in it. Strips to breech

cloth. Doctor gets in on north side of blanket, sits on west side 755
of hole. Has handkerchief tying hair back. Puts water next to
hole. Sprinkles water with fingers on rocks, four times with
left hand while feeling patient over with right. Then takes
mouthful of water which he spits on rock. Makes talk, blows
on patient's sternum. Then knows disease. Slaps hands together
to make more steam on patient. Then goes out after five or ten
minutes, covers himself with blanket for three or four minutes
with handkerchief off. Then goes back in with handkerchief on
repeats previous performance and begins to sing, slaps hands
while singing. Goes out again. Three times is all. Third person
sits outside and after third time wraps patient up and takes him
home and cleans him up. Doctor then cleans up himself and sweat
house and goes to see patient or patient's relatives. Tells him disease
and cure which may be sweat treatment for three, four or five [262]
days, and certain foods patient cannot eat. For instance, no meat
or salt, grease for six days. A little tobacco is put in fire when
building it. Just a little fire. Never use rocks again. Sweat house
is only for those past five years of age. When younger, doctor
places them on a warm rock outside. Tells mother what to eat
if baby is nursing. Give baby herbs, maybe twice a day for couple
of days. Payment is voluntary."

General Manners and Customs

The practice of eating human flesh even ceremonially has been 266
denied by the Delaware and accounts of the Delaware throughout
all the years back to Lindeström (61). This Swedish writer
did not explicitly deny that the Delaware ate human flesh, but
in describing the practice among the Minqua he implied that it
was not true of the Delaware. The Delaware have a tale of
cannibalism in the very early days which was the result of [784]
famine brought on by violation of a taboo. Aside from this
case they admit no knowledge of cannibalism among them. Tribes
with whom they were in contact from early historic times and
before practiced cannibalism ceremonially and in times of famine.
These were principally the Conestoga (the Minqua of Lindeström)
and Iroquois. The latter have been credited with orig- [727]

266 727 inating the torture of prisoners, burning at the stake, and eating of their flesh. These elements were considered to have been adopted by other tribes in retaliation. Hence it is difficult to understand how the Delaware could have escaped or withstood this influence. The only explanation that seems at all plausible is that when the Delaware were subjugated by the Iroquois early in the eighteenth century, they lost the prime reason for the practice and soon lost even the memory of it.

576 According to information from the eighteenth century and later, the Indian mode of greeting was shaking hands (62). The three manuscripts of the early nineteenth century claimed that shaking hands was a very old Indian custom and one in existence before white contact. In the national worshiping society or Big House where an effort was made to preserve ancient customs, the left hand was used. This was the hand nearer the heart and so considered to be a more direct conveyance of friendship. It is interesting to note that the two modern informants who have participated in the Big House confirmed this use of the left hand, whereas the two who have had no firsthand information of this ceremony claimed the right hand was always used by the Delaware. None of the seventeenth-century sources, including accounts not used in the tabulation, referred to hand shaking. This absence of mention is not surprising as many details were ignored by the early writers, but in the case of Williams who gave many different expressions for greetings and included a description of an Indian stroking a sachem upon both shoulders, the suggestion is strong that hand shaking was not in use until learned from the whites. Early accounts of customs at the time of contact between other tribes and whites also indicate that hand shaking was not an Indian custom. Hence, we have a custom that was borrowed from the whites some time before the accounts of the second period.

576 562 There seems to have been a change in the freedom with which emotions toward the same and the opposite sex were exhibited (70-73). Part of the responsibility for the apparent change may be assigned to a lack of information or understanding. It is doubtful if any conclusions are warranted on the basis of the

576
information available. On the other hand, the expression of 562
feelings between men and their wives and children, which is a
closely related subject, definitely shows a change in the fourth 593
period (75, 76). In the second and third periods indifference
on the part of the men to their wives on returning home was reported, whereas, in the fourth period, the two younger informants disclaimed such indifference. Paternal indifference to children is denied throughout. The behavior of the older men toward their wives was in accordance with the old ways, they said, whereas that of the younger men was apparently influenced by white standards of behavior.

Captain Chipps and two of the informants, W. T. and W. L., 142
considered the Delaware to differ from other tribes in color (80).
Among the informants the matter was one of personal opinion unwarranted by the color of the individual informants. The opinion
is also unwarranted from a comparison of skin, hair, and eye color
with members of neighboring tribes who have approximately the
same percentage of Indian blood. The greater degree of socia- 576
bility, friendship, and hospitality among the Delaware and all
the informants is to be attributed, in part, at least, to their religion and their feeling of superiority to other tribes (82-84).
They believe their Big House or Delaware "church" to be su- 186
perior to the religious beliefs of other tribes, but they are tolerant 794
of the shortcomings of the others and attempt no missionary
work. Friendship with all mankind is preached in the Big House
and practiced by all believers.

The elements concerned with the physical duties of the woman in the home are of doubtful value from a psychological and terminological viewpoint (85-87). The terms "easy," "contented," and "drudgery" all carry connotations beyond their strict meanings that are so divergent in their use by different observers or informants that comparison is impossible. It is interesting to note, however, that Heckewelder and Johnston agree with the statements of the modern Delaware that the position of women was easy and contented and that they were not considered menial servants of the men. The only dissenting voice was that of Captain Chipps. Nowhere is there any evidence that the women considered themselves imposed upon by the men.

Birth and Its Incidents

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551 The ceremony of naming a child (89) appears to have been an adjunct of the Big House Ceremony in the nineteenth century and probably in the eighteenth century, although Zeisberger's remarks are not very clear. He reported: "The name is given at a sacrifice, on which occasion the Indian brings to some aged person, who performs the offering, a string of wampum, and tells him that he wishes his child's name to be named thus and so. During the sacrifice some other person sings a song in Indian fashion at a public gathering and makes known the child's name. This is called praying over the child. The same ceremony is performed when an adult person receives a name, even although he may already have been named."[8]

Captain Pipe stated that the name-giving ceremony was performed at a meeting of the national worshiping society.[9] Johnston reported that there was no ceremony; but so did Chipps, who then proceeded to describe one, although not in connection with the Big House Ceremony. Among the modern Delaware opinion was divided, and, oddly enough, divided according to the presence or absence of the Big House, even though they all disclaimed any knowledge of the connection of the naming ceremony with it as related by Pipe. J. W. said that the only connection that he knew of was that the native names were used exclusively in the Big House in recent years.

Lindeström reported that boys were not given names until they were large enough to shoot guns. All later sources and informants said that there was no particular age at which names were given, but all placed the time within two years of birth.

Very diverse accounts are given of the means of selecting a name (91-96). If there was a change within historic times, the sources included in this study fail to show it. The first period is not very well reported, but in each of the last three, names were chosen by the parents or dreamed by either parents or grandparents or some other elderly person. Zeisberger said that if it

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[8] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 80.

[9] See *post*, p. 100.

was left to the mother to select a name, she did so with little 553
ceremony, but that the father pretended to receive a name in a 551
dream. Pipe said that a child might take its name from its father, Van der Donck said from its mother, Chipps said sometimes from one of its parents but usually from one of its grandparents. Part of the diversity may be accounted for by the fact that often two or more old people including the child's grandparents, dreamed a name, and on being presented with these the parents made a
selection. W. L., however, said that the power to name was [787]
derived from dreams and the names bestowed by an individual so empowered were usually related to his dream but that no dreaming was done for any particular child. None of the accounts indicate whether or not the name given an individual reflected his clan affiliation.

Whatever the origin of his name, the individual never had more than one, according to all informants and all the sources except Johnston, and apparently he had in mind the number of names an individual bore during life rather than at one time (97). In the changing of names during life the tabulation shows a clean break between the fourth and previous periods (98). The reason for this is not so clear, but it seems very reasonable to assign it to white influence and particularly the establishment of tribal rolls used in making annuity payments.

According to Williams, the Indian parents with whom he was 861
acquainted did not use corporeal punishment for the correction of their children (105). He convinced one Narraganset father of the benefit of such correction. If corporeal punishment did not exist among the coastal Algonquain tribes before his time, the introduction of this element might be traced to him, for all of the subsequent writers with the exception of Heckewelder and all the informants affirmed the practice of it. However, the punishments listed by the other sources and informants were not very severe in most cases and indicate that, as among most tribes, the principal means of restraint with Delaware children were persuasion and example.

The education of Indian youth was frequently characterized as being entirely without system (103). It is true that formal

861 classes and text books were not a basic part of the system, but the
descriptions of the teaching of Indian children show that they
were definitely educated to fill their places in the society of which
they were members. At a very early age children were given as
868 toys models of implements they would use in earnest in later life.
867 These were different for each sex. For example, a boy would be
given a tiny bow with straws for arrows; then, as he grew up, the
size and effectiveness of the weapons would be increased until he
was able to kill every sort of game as a full-fledged hunter. Girls
were given dolls and very early instructed in the fundamentals
of making baskets and pots. A considerable amount of the
instruction given to children was by example and explanation
incidental to actual practices by the parents or other elders, and
by the relation of stories and myths. Therein lies the explanation
of the failure of many early writers to find a "system" of education among the Indians. As a matter of fact, the reports of
the age at which childhood was considered to cease show that
the training of youths among the Indians was completed while
they were still quite young (106).

597 Johnston and Chipps definitely stated that orphaned children were never adopted by relatives, although the care of orphans usually devolved upon the nearest relations in the absence of adoption (107-12). Zeisberger's statement that orphans were often given or bequeathed to old women may be construed the same way. Among the sources only Pipe gave relatives a prior claim on orphans. He said that maternal grandparents were bound by custom to take care of children on the death of the parents, but that, if they too were dead, other relatives or friends might take them. All of the modern informants agree that relatives of orphans could and did adopt them, although childless friends or neighbors who desired them often were given the orphans if they made their desires known. From the available information it looks as if there was a change in customs regarding the adoption of orphans within the fourth period.

854 The cradleboard must have been discarded by the Delaware
352 early in the fourth period, for of the modern informants not
even the oldest had ever seen one in use among the Delaware

(116). While three of them had heard of the former use of cradleboards, one, J. W., denied ever hearing of them among the Delaware, although he was familiar with their use by other tribes. 854 352

Marriage and Its Incidents

From the majority of the accounts denying courtship between the principals of a marriage it appears that Chipps's description of a brief courtship which was also a marriage ceremony was not typical of the Delaware (131).[5] Lindeström's record of fantastic promiscuity of all the people except the chiefs need not be considered one way or the other. Such a condition would not be reasonable for any people and certainly could not have existed among the Delaware in 1654 without many more than Lindeström having been aware of it. Chipps and Lindeström are also the only dissenters to the statement that marriages were arranged by the parents (132). As already mentioned, Lindeström's statements are not trustworthy on the subject of marriage and Chipps was reporting a Canadian Munsee group that differed in many respects from the Delaware group in this country. His remarks on marriage are applicable to the Chippewa with whom the Canadian Munsee were in contact and with whom they intermarried. In the light of Pipe's remark about the ignoring of formality,[6] it is probable that Chipps's statements reflect a condition in the third period not wholly attributable to the Chippewa or confined to the Canadian Delaware. 584 [836 837]

According to the tabulation of remarks on the asking of the consent of either party, parents in the first two periods were much more considerate of the wishes of their children than parents in the last two periods (133). The explanation probably lies in the statements of Zeisberger and Pipe that refusals to comply with the wishes of parents were rare. The story told by F. R. is an example of the means used by parents and other elders to keep the young folks in line.[7]

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[5] See *post*, p. 107.

[6] See *post*, p. 109.

[7] See *post*, pp. 107-8.

585 The reports of lack of ceremony attending a marriage are quite evidently based on a misunderstanding of what constitutes a ceremony (134). Considered in its meaning of any form, ritual, or custom established for the observance of joining in marriage, there was a ceremony for even the type of marriage described by Chipps. The Delaware ceremony, however, was not a complicated one to judge from the one described by Pipe for former times and appears to have been simplified even further at that time, 1824. The form of marriage of the Delaware then may safely be said to have undergone a lessening of formality by the third period even though most of the former practices were still remembered in the fourth. One of the customs connected with marriage that was not remembered in the fourth period, the exchange of presents, aids in establishing the time of the change in marriage forms (137). Whereas the giving of presents to the bride or the family of the bride (135, 136) was reported in all four periods, the exchange of presents was recorded as a custom in the second period, but one no longer practiced, according to Pipe, in the third period, and completely forgotten in the fourth.

595 Polygyny was not common in any period and was principally
confined to chiefs and rich men. There is no consensus among
either the sources or the informants as to whether any superiority
was observed among the multiple wives or on what quality such
a superiority might have been based (141-44). Polyandry was
not mentioned in the first two periods, but was emphatically
595 denied in the last two (145). Information on the operation of
587 the levirate is too scanty to warrant any conclusions, but the
sororate attracted attention in all but the first period (146-48).
Polygynous sororate was reported by all three sources of the
third period but denied by all the informants except W. L. His
information applied to only one family. Successive sororate was
reported in each of the last three periods and the only denial
was that of the Canadian Chipps. There may have been a change
in the feeling toward polygynous sororate in the last period,
but as polygyny was not common in any period and opportunities
for polygynous sororal marriages were fewer in the scattered

condition of the smaller population of the last century, it is more 595
likely that the custom simply ceased to be active. 587

In the same way marriage of a man to a woman and her daughter, either simultaneously or successively, was probably never very common and disappeared completely in the fourth period (149). The tabulated information shows a complete break between the sources and the informants. As the latter simply deny knowing of any such cases, now or in the past, and have no knowledge of any rule prohibiting such marriages, lack of opportunity is probably as much responsible as any change in viewpoint.

Divorce and allied considerations apparently have undergone 586
little change in recent years from the point of view of the Delaware even with the superimposition of the legal code of the whites (153-58). W. T. in his very idealistic view of Delaware customs said children were brought up to mind their parents [867]
and that this behavior continued through life. Hence, in marriage a boy and girl had no choice but to do what parents decided. A girl then could not leave her husband because her parents had given her to the man in exchange for presents. He implied that the husband was not bound quite as much to continue a distasteful marriage, and, also, that after the death of the parents the girl could act more according to choice. E. R. and W. L. said that women seldom obtained a divorce, but according to J. W., whose son was recently divorced, the woman was chivalrously allowed to do the divorcing even if the husband was the wronged party. In his son's case the Delaware customs were observed as well as the legal steps. The wife had been running around with other men and drinking. After several of her protracted absences from home, Fred decided upon a divorce. He waited until she came home, asked her to pack up her belongings, and then took them and her to her father's home. Her father was already acquainted with the circumstances, but Fred repeated them and announced that he was through with her. Then he instituted legal action but both families already considered the divorce to be in effect.

Information on the two elements, cohabitation without mar- 588
riage and children born out of wedlock (161 and 164), follows 848

588 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources
848 and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of
W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal
code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this
fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common
"before the law came and then the women got mean and objected
when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances
of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and
derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to
both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their
accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged
relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found
in the source material. One might expect that the introduction
[885] of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth
could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply
of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation
for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in
the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the
other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five
thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. 764
The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the [776] deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual 764 cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He 768 said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death [774] admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

connection with the dread of death and the restoration of the 761 775
body thereafter, but all the reports on these two elements also [774]
expressed a belief in the immortality of the soul.

Lineage

There is no change indicated by a consideration of matters of 582
lineage with the exception of the endogamy vouched for by [144]
W. T. (214). He said that originally and until recently Delaware clans were endogamous, that each had to be kept clean and pure; but that now there are lots of half- and quarter-breeds. This statement of endogamy is not supported by other historic or contemporaneous evidence.

On the division of the Delaware into three groups, Turtle, 619
Wolf and Turkey, there have been many conflicting opinions (209). Heckewelder called them tribes coinciding with the Unamis or Delaware, Munsee, and Unalachtigo.[8] Morgan considered them gens in the nature of phratries.[9] The modern Delaware frequently refer to these divisions as clans. Since Morgan's conclusion of phratries was based on the functionless and only vaguely remembered subdivisions called subgentes, it is important to have the result of Trowbridge's inquiries on this subject. He wrote:

"The Delaware nation is divided into three tribes, the *Töökseet* or Wolf (Round foot; from *Töökwaa* round & *oozëët* foot) the *Tshëëkunum* or Turkey, called by the Munsees and sometimes by the Delawares *Pelăăooh*, and the *Töölpaa* or Turtle, (in Munsee *Skëëhkee*).

"They say that anciently each of these three tribes was divided into four, making twelve tribes, but they do not recollect the names of those subdivisions.

"Mr. Heckewelder has strangely mistaken himself when he said that Unamis (*Woonăūmee*) meant Turtle, or Turtle tribe, and Unalachtigo (*Woonalăūhtekoa*) the Turkey tribe. The term *Woonăūmee* was given by the Munsees to the Turtle tribe of

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[8] Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indians*, pp. 51-52.

[9] Morgan, Lewis H., *Ancient Society* . . . (Chicago, Henry Holt and Company, 1907), p. 172.

619 Delawares because they resided at a place of that name; and *Woonalăŭhtekoa* is the name of one of the twelve divisions just mentioned. (One of the four divisions of the Wolf tribe.) Mr. H. made a similar mistake when he distinguished the Munsees as one of the tribes of the Delaware nation. There are descendants of each of the three tribes among them as well as among the Delawares themselves.

. . . .

"They know nothing of a nation of Taleekăăee, Aleekăăee or Allegewi, of which Mr. Heckewelder speaks as the possessors of the country east of the Mississippi before the arrival of the Delawares. But Pipe says that one of the twelve tribes of the Delawares, before mentioned, was called Aleekăăee, and that they resided on the Allegheny River. That when he was a boy he saw one of their men at the house of his father, at or near Cape Girardeau and that his father pointed him out to Pipe as one of the Aleekăăee, but at that time they were but very few, and are supposed to be now extinct."

[186] It should be noted in connection with the divisions of the tribe or the tribal divisions of the nation that they have frequently been rated according to their importance. Captain Chipps said that the Wolf tribe was the first. Zeisberger said Turtle was first.[illegible] Among the modern Delaware the tribe placed first depended upon the tribal affinity of the informant: a Wolf always placed his tribe first and a Turtle placed the Turtle tribe first. Informants of these two groups named the other one second, and Turkey last. I was not able to find a Turkey informant.

Chiefs

643 The succession of chiefs among the Delaware has not been well or consistently described in the historic accounts. Many different ways of becoming chief have been reported. Lindeström implied that chieftainship was hereditary in an extended family, with the brother of the chief or his sister's son having preference over the son of the chief (218, 219). The chief might name

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[illegible] Hulbert and Schwarze (eds.), "David Zeisberger's History," in *Ohio Archæological and Historical Publications*, XIX, 131-32.

his successor but the council had to approve his choice (226). 643
Captain Chipps said that the council determined the successor
when the chief died, by which he probably meant when he died
without naming a successor. On the other hand, he said that
all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from
the election the tribe for whom the election was held. It may
be conjectured that by this he referred to the installation rather
than the election of the chief, for such a procedure is out of
line with the other accounts of the same period and even the
rest of Chipps's own account. Zeisberger's account for the previous
period also used the term election for a ceremony described as an
installation. Some of the comments of Captain Chipps and
Zeisberger also suggest the possibility that it was only the elevation
of an ordinary chief to the head chieftainship of one division
that was done by the other divisions or tribes (224). This
is most likely the true explanation and its acceptance would
explain some of the seeming contradictions in the accounts of
these two writers. The modern Delaware have no knowledge
of the custom, and since in recent years only one chief has been
elected for all divisions, there could be no installation by the
chiefs of two divisions for the other one.

Two other changes in the fourth period are significant and 643
indicate the almost complete breakdown of the old political 177
organization after continued white contact. These are the noninheritance
of chieftainship and the full participation of the
people in the election (216-19, 221).

A reconstruction of the old system would be something very 621
close to the following. The three divisions of the Delaware, 614
Turtle, Wolf, and Turkey, were more or less separated from
one another in place of residence and perhaps originally developed
from such separation. Even into the nineteenth century
certain towns were known as Turtle or Wolf towns. Each of
these divisions was subdivided into twelve gentes or subgentes.
These were undoubtedly exogamous, and possibly the divisions
were also. Chieftainship in the subgentes or in the villages was
hereditary in the extended family. Descent was matrilineal;
hence, a chief was not succeeded by his son but by a brother, by

621 a nephew, his sister's son, or sister's daughter's son. The se-
614 lection of a successor might be made by an incumbent with the approval of the people. Each of the three divisions had a chief who was chosen by a general council of chiefs and wisemen, possibly with the exclusion of the tribal chiefs and wisemen of the division involved. The installation of the tribal chief was conducted by the head chiefs of the other two divisions.

643 The various sources and informants were unanimous in saying that there was a boundary between the authority of the civil chief and that of the war chief (232). The superiority of the civil chief in peace time was also affirmed by all (233). The reversal of the relative power of each in war was likewise maintained without dissent (234). Power received through visions [781] was a prerequisite to the office of war chief (237). Captain Pipe's account made no mention of vision power, but his statement of an election similar to that of a civil chief did not preclude this requirement. W. L. stated that a man must have received power through a vision to become eligible for election as a war chief.

623 The existence of a body of wisemen or counselors was reported in every period (238). These men were chosen by the people, according to the information from the third and fourth periods (240). The accounts of the earlier periods did not touch upon this matter. The council or body of wisemen was reported throughout all periods to consider all matters of importance to the tribe (241). The functions of the council were evidently considerable; although called only by the chief, their decision after due deliberation determined the course of action of the chief (238). Women had no voice in council and were only admitted at certain times (243).

Justice

681 According to the idealistic retrospect of W. T., originally, when the Delaware had things their own way, there was no theft, murder, rape, adultery, or any other crime or misdemeanor and hence no punishments or ways of handling such matters were
000 necessary. Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first

Since debts were not discussed in detail in the first 686
period, we cannot tell whether their treatment was the same as Zeisberger recorded in the second period or not (244). Zeisberger said that if a debtor was unable to pay, the creditor dunned his friends who had to pay and rarely refused to do so. He thus implied that if a debtor was able to pay he was forced to do so. In the third and fourth periods the consensus was that there was no mode of compelling the payment of a debt, but that relatives or friends usually made restitution (245). Force might be used to get restitution, or, failing that, as a punishment (246). On this last element W. L. was the only dissenter. He said that force was never used because it was unnecessary, that anything borrowed was a gift and did not have to be returned unless a promise to do so was made by the borrower, and that a promise of this sort was always kept.

In spite of W. T.'s view of conditions among the Indians and 686
particularly the Delaware before much contact with the whites 177
had occurred, all of the first and second period accounts give evidence of a native mode of dealing with theft (247). It should be stated, however, that examples were said to be much more infrequent than among contemporaneous Europeans. No punishment except restitution was reported for the first offense (249). In default of restitution, J. W. said that a whipping was ordered 685
by the chief in cases of debt and theft and also as a punishment [684]
for rape. W. L. said that if wampum presents were not forthcoming from a detected thief, the chief ordered him to a whipping log where twenty-five strokes were administered for the first offense, fifty for the second, and other increases up to one hundred. Execution was not sanctioned as a punishment in default of presents, but in each of the last three periods the victim of a theft was said to have the right of killing such a defaulting thief on a subsequent offense, if caught in the act (250). This was denied by Van der Donck in the first period.

All the sources and informants were agreed that murder was 682
punished (251). Williams and Lindeström in the first period and J. W. and W. L. in the fourth were the only ones to report that the nation took any part in administering the punishment (252). However, according to Van der Donck, the chief or friends at-

682 tempted to reconcile the parties involved and often gave liberally of their own means if those of the offender were deficient in order to settle the difficulty. Most breaches caused by murder were closed by presents (253). The reports of the amount of wampum, the usual compensation, varied; Zeisberger said one hundred fathoms for a man, double for a woman; Johnston and Chipps said two hundred fathoms; and Pipe reported one hundred and twenty fathoms for a man, one hundred and thirty for a woman (254). In the fourth period the discrepancies between the accounts show the effects of the lapse of time since this mode of appeasing bereaved relatives was used. J. W. said twelve yards of wampum was required, W. L. said fifty yards for a man and double for a woman, and W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary; whereas, E. R. did not think that a murder could ever be compensated for in this way and disclaimed all knowledge of wampum as a medium of exchange. E. R. said that blood vengeance was the only means of punishing a murderer.

682 627 Revenge, according to the rest of the accounts except Zeisberger and Johnston, was only resorted to in case presents were not offered or offered in insufficient amounts. Johnston said that no amount of wampum was sufficient to settle a second offense. Zeisberger did not explicitly refer to revenge but, in saying that a murderer who did not feel safe went to another village where he was a stranger, he implied that revenge was not unknown.

Revenge was the duty of the nearest relative of the slain person, according to Van der Donck, but no subsequent writer ascribed the responsibility to any particular person (256). In the later periods any of the relatives who were brave enough might undertake to obtain revenge but there was said to be no duty connected with it. In the fourth period, J. W. and W. L. said that relatives were not supposed to take revenge but that the chief appointed two or three men to do so. This element shows two changes from the first to the last period. In view of the established custom of giving presents to maintain peace disturbed by a murder it is probable that revenge was seldom taken within the nation. However, revenge as a method of

settling such an affair was approved by the nation (260), and 682
it did not give rise to a feud between the two families involved 627
unless there was some violation of the established customs by
the injured family as reported by Van der Donck (259).

Besides murder and theft, rape, adultery, desertion of children, 684
drunkenness, and slander were considered crimes (262-65). 672
Apparently the conception of what constituted punishment varied 683
among the sources, for some did not regard the payment of
wampum as such (266). This was the only retribution levied on
the offender recorded by Van der Donck, Heckewelder, Chipps,
and Pipe. Zeisberger agreed, except that in the case of adultery
he said a man whose wife had been seduced awaited his oppor-
tunity and seduced the wife of the seducer. J. W. and W. L.
said that failing presents, whipping and even death might be [684]
meted out in cases of persistent offenders. J. W. seemed to think
that rape was always punished by death.

Another element that shows an increasingly rigorous enforce- 682
ment of law and order with the passage of time is that involving
the murder of a woman by her husband (269). In the first two
periods this received no mention, but in the third there are state-
ments by Johnston and Pipe that the husband would not be
punished (270). Johnston said that the wife's relatives might
take revenge if they considered the act unwarranted. According
to the modern informants, such a murderer would be punished
anyway, and there might be revenge in addition if her relatives
thought the deed unwarranted.

References to the age at which adult status was reached were 885
infrequently given by the earlier sources (267). Van der Donck
and Johnston said that the matter was determined by the ability
of the individual (268). Chipps said that a youth was considered
a man at twenty years and was then his own master even though
he could marry before that. None of the modern informants
said that coming into adult status was determined by the ability
of the individual, although W. L. implied as much by saying
that the age was between twenty and twenty-four years. Two
of the others placed the age at twenty-five years and the fourth
at twenty-one. In a society that placed so much emphasis upon

885 individual prowess, it is doubtful if a definite age was observed before the introduction of the concept of a legal age by the whites.

Family Government

593 Questions dealing with the display of tenderness and affection between husband and wife were framed by Cass to be answered by observers outside the group under consideration (271, 285). The opinions of the Delaware themselves were, of course, in the affirmative for the existence and display of these emotions, but they agreed with the information of the writers of the earlier periods who were only observers.

462 In seeking information on the elements dealing with the occupations of the husband and wife, it was emphasized that we were concerned with earlier conditions as well as with present practices. Although the methods may have changed, the responsibilities of the husband have remained the same from the earliest times known. He is still the provider of meat, clothing, and other necessities whether as the direct or indirect result of hunting or other activity (272-74).

593
462
562 The wife was expected in the old days to obey her husband, make clothing and moccasins of material provided by her spouse, tend the garden or fields, cook meals, and provide fuel (275-80). These duties were reported for women throughout the first three periods. It is interesting to note that three of the modern informants, J. W., W. T., and E. R., denied the agricultural responsibilities of women. It is a tossup whether they were uninformed of conditions in the past or answered as they did because these are not the sole responsibility of the women now and they interpreted the past in terms of their present customary division of labor which is similar to that of the whites. This chivalrous attitude is maintained on the question of manual labor falling on the wife (281). On all these elements the information of W. L. reflected the earlier conditions.

[224]
[484] According to Heckewelder, when hunting was of great importance, the husband could not be encumbered with any burden when moving camp but must of necessity leave all that to his wife and himself be on the lookout for game (282). In the

593
next period, however, Johnston and Chipps said that the men 462
and women shared the labor of moving and pitching camp. In 562
the fourth period W. L. was again the only one to place the
responsibility on the women.

The husband did not strike his wife frequently, if at all, ac- 593
cording to all the information gathered (283). Johnston and 578
Chipps said that he might do so if she were ill-tempered or refractory (284). The modern informants denied this as a just cause, although E. R. said that it was up to the husband to punish his wife if she broke a rule.

Food, Mode of Living, etc.

Heckewelder said that the Delaware, Mahicans, and Shawnee 262
were all very particular in their choice of meats and that nothing short of the most pressing hunger could induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wildcat, panther, fox, muskrat, or wolf, all of which he had several times seen the Chippewa eat with a good appetite (288-91)." J. W. said that opossum, wolf, dog, woodchuck, snake, crow, hawk, owl, eagle, and, in fact, most fowls were not eaten. W. L. also said that
opossum, muskrat, and several kinds of birds were not eaten. [619]
Apparently the symbols of the three tribal divisions, turtle, turkey and wolf, were not taboo for that reason, for only the last one was included on any list. The totems of the extinct subdivisions may have been taboo. This is true of the opossum which was most frequently mentioned as not being eaten and it was the name of one of the subdivisions. However, the Delaware re-
gard the opossum as endowed with supernatural powers and [779]
in the nature of a trickster and have many stories that evince this attitude.

There seems to have been no taboos on vegetables eaten (292- 243
98). Corn was the principal item cultivated. It was supplemented [262]
by the usual beans and squashes, and later vegetables introduced 244
by the whites were also cultivated. Wild or ground potatoes
and other less important wild products were gathered. The 222
262

"Heckewelder, *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations*, p. 196.

222 staple of more northern tribes, wild rice, apparently never figured
262 in the diet of the Delaware, although W. T. claimed that it did (299). Little use seems to have been made of grasses or greens, but there is no suggestion that this avoidance was the result of a taboo.

264 Information on the regularity of meals among the Delaware is not conclusive (300). Van der Donck reported no regular meals in the first period, Heckewelder the reverse in the second period; but both Johnston and Chipps in the third period stated there were no regular meal times. In the fourth period three informants claimed regularity of meals for their ancestors as well as themselves; whereas the fourth, W. L., said that even when he was a boy there was always something to eat for the grownups and they ate when they felt like it. Chipps said that they ate in the night as often as in the day, but the other sources and informants denied this and maintained that it was only the hunter or traveler who returned at night that received anything to eat (306).

Men and women usually ate together according to the reports from all periods (302). Both J. W. and W. L. in the fourth period stated that children did not eat with the rest of the family (301). At some meals the children ate after the adults, who left them the amounts and parts of the food that they should eat. The last meal in the day for children was about four or five o'clock. From then on until the next morning they could have only water.

252 The question of neatness in cooking is a relative one (303). Lindeström and Johnston did not think they were neat at all. Zeisberger, Heckewelder, and Chipps, on the other hand, said that cleanliness was an individual matter but that on the whole the Delaware were much neater than many other tribes. The difference between Indian and white methods of cooking in the centuries past was probably much greater than the difference between the two now.

Van der Donck reported in the first period that boiling was the only mode of cooking meat used by the Indians (304). Since this was contradicted by Lindeström who wrote at practically

252 the same time, there is no reason to suspect that the several cooking modes reported in all subsequent periods were the result of European introduction. On the other hand, Lindeström's statement that the Delaware preferred their fish only half fried finds no support in the information from the following periods (305). Zeisberger and all the modern informants said that meats were preferred well done. In this connection J. W. expressed the opinion of all the modern informants when he said that foods from the open air (not canned), cooked in clean water or well done in an open fire were clean and best.

262 When the Delaware were living on the Atlantic Coast, fish formed an important part of their diet, according to Van der Donck and Lindeström (307). Apparently every kind available in any particular locality was eaten. The reports of all subsequent periods also show an absence of taboo on particular kinds of fish, with the exception of J. W., and he could not name the varieties not eaten. Captain Chipps reported that some did not eat sturgeon, others catfish, but more as a matter of individual taste than because of a taboo.

Hunting

411 The bow and arrow was, of course, the common weapon used in hunting in prehistoric times and well remembered even today, although its utility as a meat-procuring arm has long been lost (308).

[439] The surprising item in the list of arms used by the Delaware is the firearm (309). Even though every European colony on the Atlantic Coast protested the sale of firearms to the natives by the other colonies, and subordination of the Delaware to the Iroquois in the early eighteenth century was attributed to the fact that the latter were supplied earlier with firearms, we find two references to the rather common use of guns in hunting by the Delaware in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The blowgun was reported among the Canadian Delaware or Munsee of 1824 by Captain Chipps (310). At that time it was used by hunters to kill small game and birds. Poisoned darts were not mentioned. The three older informants among the

411 Oklahoma Delaware said that they had used the blowgun as
boys and that, although the targets were usually birds or small
[524] game, the blowgun was more of a toy than anything else. Since
the sojourn of the ancestors of the Oklahoma Delaware in Ohio
[171] and Indiana in the first decades of the nineteenth century is
rather well documented and accounts of that period fail to record
the possession of the blowgun then, it is more than probable that
two sources of diffusion are here indicated. The Canadian Munsee or Delaware undoubtedly received the blowgun from the Southeast through the Iroquois, whereas the Oklahoma Delaware probably received it direct from the southeastern tribes with whom they have been neighbors in Oklahoma.

227 It is strange that in two years on the Delaware River Lindeström did not see spears, nets, or hooks used to take fish (313-15). All these were mentioned by Roger Williams as being used by the Narragansets and all but the spears were listed by Van der Donck in addition to weirs. These last, according to Lindeström, were the principal means used by the Delaware to take fish. Weirs were not mentioned by the second- or third-period sources and were unknown to the modern Delaware.

224 Large hunting parties were reported periodically for the Delaware in every period (316). However, there was considerable variation as to the number constituting a large party (317). E. R. said four hunters were as many as ever hunted together. This is quite diverse from the hundreds reported in the first period. The parties were formed for their mutual advantage and were under the guidance of the oldest or most expert hunter (319). Williams, Van der Donck, and Lindeström mentioned the driving of deer by large parties. Subsequent accounts did not mention game drives, and the report of smaller parties probably indicate that they were no longer made. Group hunting in the later periods was described by Johnston as a party of several families going together directed by a head man who encouraged the young men to pursue their hunting every morning and directed them
where and when to move their camps. The ceremonies observed
[796] in connection with group hunting were rather elaborate as described by Lindeström (see *post*, pp. 127-28). In the second and

third periods no ceremonies were reported. In the fourth period 224
the ceremonies were said to be prayers at the beginning and con- [796]
clusion of the expedition.

From the sequence of questions I understand that the one relating to "peculiar laws" in hunting concerned the rights of various members of a group hunting—the division of the game, the taboos to be observed, etc. (320). Most of the sources and all of the informants stated or indicated the existence of laws or rules from this standpoint. Johnston, however, understood the question differently, for he answered, "They have not, every one kills as much as he can." While he gave no information on the subject desired, his answer does show that the Indians with whom he was acquainted were not practicing conservation of game. There seems to have been a certain etiquette observed [579] whenever a successful hunter was approached by an unsuccessful one at the scene of the kill (322-26). The sharing of the game killed was as generally observed as if the two had been hunting together (321), but the detail of the division depended upon the individual hunter and his mood of the moment. Deer was the principal animal sought in hunting, and often the term hunting was used synonymously with deer hunting, and in speaking of the divisions of game killed, the deer is always taken as the example. The fact that deer was the staple meat and hunted most often in the autumn is also shown in the more frequent reports of hunting in the autumn than in any other season (328-31).

A ceremony celebrating the killing of the first game animal 852 by a youthful hunter is well affirmed in every period (332). The details of the ceremony, however, are not always given. Zeisberger reported that the youth presented a male animal to an old man and a female animal to an old woman (337). This was denied by all the modern informants. The third- and fourth-period reports related that the selection of the recipient of the kill was not based on the sex of the animal (336). This contradiction may represent a change in custom between the second and third periods, but the fact that there is only one authority for the earlier period casts some doubt on the uniformity of

852 the sex correlation. The animal or part of it was eaten by a friend who prayed for the continuance of good luck, according to Johnston, J. W. and W. L. (335). The dedication of the animal to deities or the spirits of deceased friends and the giving of the feast at night as mentioned by Johnston were denied by [177] two of the informants (333-34). There is a suggestion of a fourth-period change here that would be stronger if it were not for the paucity of accounts.

224 A feast, a dance, or both, were customarily given on the return of a hunting party, according to the statements or implications of the sources of the first three periods (338-39). The informants all denied that dances were held and W. T. was the [177] only one to admit the giving of feasts. This seems very definitely to reflect a change between the third and fourth periods, probably due to the decline in the economic importance of hunting.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

142 302 The elements under this heading are few and show little change. There are, however, a couple of items that merit some discussion. First, on the matter of extirpating the beard, there is a division of opinion among the sources and among the informants (342). All the sources who mentioned the beard, except Van der Donck, said that it was pulled out. This was confirmed by J. W. in the fourth period but denied by W. T. and E. R. These maintained that the Indians never had beards until they intermarried with the whites.

The hairdress of the women offered little occasion for disagreement (349-53). All the sources and informants who gave any information on the subject agreed that women fastened their hair [illegible] the head. Whether it was braided, clubbed, or fastened in a square bunch seems to have been a matter of individual preference, for one source mentioned all three methods [301] and four other accounts, two of the three methods. Ornamentation was also according to individual preference.

302 Men cut their hair short except for the tuft or scalp lock on the top of the head (345). The scalp lock was made into two braids according to all the sources who reported on this detail,

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. 302
alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the 165
average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. [773]
said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a 721
large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in pre- [777]
historic times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

721 their success were reported (413, 414). According to the sources, the council decided the question of going to war against a certain tribe (361), but the specific destination of a war party was determined by the war chief leading it. The informants' disagreement is undoubtedly in error.

726 The commander of a war party was appointed by the civil chiefs and he in turn appointed his supporting officers (369-72). There is some disagreement on these matters among the sources but the informants agree with the majority. A party usually marched in single file behind the chief, according to the sources, but this custom was practically unknown to the informants (381). Their information probably reflects a change in custom caused by the change in habitat from the eastern woodlands to the plains. The narrow forest trails that enforced a single file were left behind. It is possible that the change in the form of encampment from a line to a circle is also to be attributed to the change in residence (382).

727 It is surprising that two of the informants should recall the ceremonies on the field of victory reported by Heckewelder in the second period and denied by all the third-period sources (388). Ceremonies on the return home of a defeated party were similarly denied by the third-period sources and affirmed, although vaguely, by two of the fourth-period informants (393). As I have said before, conclusions based on statements of this sort are rather unsound because of lack of uniformity in what is meant by ceremony.

Although some of the earliest historic accounts report the burning of prisoners by various Indian tribes, the Delaware did not do so according to the implications of Lindeström (395). In the second period burning was reported, but in the third period it was denied, although Pipe said it was an ancient practice. The fourth-period informants knew nothing of the practice.

713 Defensive armor was reported by the first-period sources and by Zeisberger in the second period (402). Heckewelder and the third-period accounts denied the use of armor. Then in the fougth period two of three informants again reported it. The explanation of this contradiction seems to be that the use

of defensive armor stopped in the second period, perhaps as 713 the result of the introduction of firearms against which it was ineffective, but the memory of it continued into the fourth period. The third-period accounts were based on the practice of that time, whereas the last period accounts reflected the custom of the earliest period.

A similar situation seems to exist in regard to the consultation 726 of jugglers before the march of a war party (408). We 787 have no information on this point from the first or second period and such consultation is denied in the third period, but Chipps reported in 1824 that fifty years and more before it had been customary for the chiefs to consult the jugglers. The three informants in the fourth period were unanimous in reporting the reliance upon jugglers for determining the omens concerning a war party.

Sieges were not a war practice of the Delaware according to 723 the early accounts (412). The sieges reported in the fourth period were of comparatively recent occurrence.

Roger Williams reported that enemy heads were taken as 727 trophies and he made no mention of scalps (415). Other New England accounts of the same period related that hands were also cut off as trophies. We have no information on this point for the Delaware of the same period. In the next period Heckewelder said the Indians took scalps as trophies but that they referred to them as heads. About the same time accounts of other tribes stated that heads were taken if possible, but if pressed by pursuit or too encumbered by heads, a warrior would reduce his load by saving only the scalps. It is doubtful if the practice of taking scalps instead of heads originated in historic times, but it is certain that it completely replaced the latter, probably in the second period.

Peace

The elements entering into peace negotiations suffered a fate 728 very similar to those of war. The sources and informants uniformly stated that ambassadors were sent to negotiate a peace (416), and that peace terms were negotiated and not dictated

728 by one party (421). On the other hand, there was no agreement as to how the desire for peace was broached or who the negotiators or ambassadors were (419, 422-24). No changes are indicated in these elements; rather, it seems that a variety of customs were permissible at any period.

The ambassadors were probably appointed by the civil chiefs, by the council of wisemen, or both. Their mission many times was preceded by the showing of a desire for peace by a war chief while in enemy territory. Heckewelder was the only one to throw any doubt on the sanctity with which the person of the ambassador was held, and he blamed all violations on the whites.

[535] Dancing at the conclusion of a peace was affirmed and denied in both the third and fourth period, with the majority reporting its practice (425). On the basis of the first copy of Pipe's account, the third-period sources denied the connection of feasts with peace ceremonies, whereas the fourth-period informants all maintained that feasts were given (426). However, Pipe's account was changed in the second and third copies to vouch for the feasts that had been definitely denied in the first copy, and thus this clear cut division between the information of the two periods does not exist. I suspect that the data of the fourth period reflect precontact and early contact customs that had been dropped as a general practice by the third period when most of the treaty negotiations were between whites and Indians rather than between different tribes of Indians. Pipe's reversal may be explained and correlated with this hypothesis by assuming that his first account related the contemporaneous practice and his revised accounts the custom in the past. The exchange of belts was unquestioned and the smoking of a pipe almost so (427-28). Pipe's statement that the Delaware "never used the pipe as the northern nations do" contradicts both previous and subsequent accounts and is most incomprehensible.

Games

526 The ball play, sometimes known as la crosse, usually indulged in by the tribes of the eastern United States was common among the Delaware according to the second- and third-period sources

and, of course, many accounts not used here (431). Three of the 526
fourth-period informants, J. W., E. R. and W. L., all denied most emphatically that the Delaware ever had ball play. They knew the game and said that the Creeks and others played it but never the Delaware. W. T. of the Washita Delaware did not join in the denial. Repeated inquiries directed at J. W. and W. L. failed to shake their determination that the Delaware had never played the game. A similar reticence about this game among the Shawnee was finally broken down by Erminie W. [177]
Voegelin and found to spring from the prohibition of the game imposed by the government in 1874. Her informant stated that the Creek, Yuchi, Delaware, and Choctaw, all played the shinny game. The Shawnee played it until about 1874; after that little boys played it only, just for fun. The Shawnee played so much they neglected their crops. Then the government made them quit playing it.

Details of the various games were so seldom given that comparisons between the different periods are impossible. Usually only the presence or absence of a game can be noted. One 525
exception is the dice game, in describing which all narrators mentioned two colors for the dice.

Reports of the number of dice used varied from five to twelve, with six being the number most frequently given. There was only one report, that of W. L., of twelve, and the suspicion arose that this might have been an extension by the informant of the [801]
sacred number twelve to the game and not the true case. Although no record of the connection between the dice game and the Big House Ceremony where the number twelve predominates is found, nor any memory of such a connection is recalled by the Oklahoma Delaware, the fact that Brinton collected in 1887 an account of this game played with twelve flat bones, and that it was said to have had, in the old days, a place in the native religious rites of the Delaware in Ontario," furnishes corroboration of the authenticity of W. L.'s account.

"Brinton, Daniel G., "Lenâpé Conversations," in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, I(1888), 40.

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177 Games show no change of any significance aside from denial of ball play. Every game reported in earlier periods was remembered in the fourth period. Moccasin game undoubtedly was restricted to play in connection with funeral ceremonies in the fourth but not in earlier periods.

Dances

535 Dances, like games, show remarkably little change. The begging dance, reported in the third period, drew two definite denials in the fourth, while two informants did not even recognize the [721] dance (451). As this dance was usually held in connection with the outfitting of a war party, a fact of which none of the informants were aware (459), the two denials should more properly be classed as lack of information.

The two most important dances from the point of view of the Delaware were the *engomween* and the *linkaokon* (448-49). [796] These were their only dances with a religious significance (456-57). The *engomween* or worshiping dance was a part of the Big House Ceremony. The *linkaokon* was recognized by most of the informants by that name but is better known as the doll dance. The first has not been held since 1924 and the other since 1929. The only dances that have been held in recent years have been social dances which are not represented in the element list.

Music

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[796] The elements listed under music are, of course, closely related to dances. The statement of Johnston that there was no ceremonial music except solo singing was refuted by all the informants who felt qualified to answer (475). Johnston's further statement that only nonsense or insignificant words were used in songs, even though corroborated by Chipps, is likewise denied by the same three informants and also by Heckewelder (476). In both these cases the informants are undoubtedly right. The error of Johnston is an understandable one when it is realized that songs were mostly of words carrying allusions, that many of them were archaic forms used only in songs, and that meaningless syllables were added to complete the rhythm, with the results that only an instructed person could understand them.

The only other apparent change in the tabulation of the accounts of the different periods is the possession of the drum (466). Roger Williams stated that the Indians had no drums but that he had known one to make a good drum in imitation of the English. This may have been true, but it is most improbable that the spread of the drum over the entire continent can be attributed to its introduction by Europeans, especially in view of its known prehistoric use by certain tribes of Indians. The aboriginal possession of the flute is more questionable than that of the drum (470). This wind instrument was not reported before the third period. 534

Summary

Before summarizing the analysis of the culture chronology of the Delaware it may be well to state that no one is more keenly aware than I am of the unsatisfactory nature of some of the source material. This material must be utilized, however, in a study of cultural change extending over the number of years that this one does. I have endeavored to avoid the many pitfalls engendered by the use of this material. Items that had to be watched particularly were the subjective nature of some of the elements and the diverse use of terms by different authors. Four hundred and thirty-eight elements were considered cultural and comparable. This total eliminates elements on which there is information from only one period, elements on constitution, and elements giving ages within limits. 114 121 128

One of the first things to be observed in a perusal of the tabulation of accounts is the relatively small number of elements on which there is a complete disagreement between sources and informants. There are only twenty-three cases out of 438 elements in which the statements of one of the informants is not in agreement with at least one of the sources. Fifteen of the twenty-three elements represent changes. The remaining eight cases, or approximately two per cent of the total, are the only elements on which the informants' accounts as a whole deviate from those of the sources. This correspondence validates the use of data remembered by informants even though they may have

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128 learned of the discontinued customs through the relations of their ancestors rather than through actual participation.

[114] Another noteworthy aspect is the frequency of contradictions in each period. Doubtless fuller information for each period would result in more conflicting reports. As it is, the list of contradictions is headed by eleven elements which show nothing but contradiction in every period. These eleven elements at least indicate that there was no one practice for these cases and illustrates the fallacy of relying on a single source or supposing the existence of a single practice.

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177 Two hundred and forty-one elements were reported upon by sources and informants without any disagreement. To get an understanding of the stability of the culture, to these 241 elements should be added the eleven elements just mentioned, for they all show continuity, making a total of 252, or 57.3 per cent, of the 438 elements analyzed. All of these do not carry through from the first period to the last, for of the 438 elements, answers were returned on 210 in the first period, on 276 in the second, on 416 in the third, and on 436 in the fourth. Some of these elements appearing only in the later periods may represent additions to the culture, as in the case of the blowgun, but, in view of the lack of information on the earlier periods, they cannot be so considered.

177 There are 65 changes very definitely indicated. The changes are divided among the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of the culture thus: 16, 38, and 11, respectively. For the 77 technological, 262 sociological, and the 99 spiritual aspects so classified, these represent percentages of 20.77, 14.5, and 11.11, respectively. The series are too small for these small differences to be of great significance. Nevertheless, these figures are the nearest thing to proof that we have for the hypothesis that it is the spiritual life of a people in contact with a superior culture that is the least susceptible to change, that sociological concepts and practices are next, and that technological concepts and practices are the most susceptible.

These changes are distributed in the various periods as follows: 15 in the second, 14 in the third, and 36 in the fourth. When these are broken down according to the type of change, that is, technological, sociological, and spiritual, the results are indecisive. This is largely due to the small number of elements and their selective nature. Another factor that distorts the picture is the length of time necessary for the completion of some of the changes. Several elements show that two or three periods were required for the complete acceptance of a change. 177

It has already been mentioned that this element list is the result of the questionnaire written by Cass in 1821. I repeat it because inherent in the questions is the realization that the culture of the Indians had then changed considerably. Consequently many of the changes that had taken place prior to 1821 are not represented. The most important or at least the most numerous items ignored are the tools, utensils, and other articles of everyday use. Articles of this nature of native manufacture were the first things to be superseded by those of European manufacture. The material culture of the Indians was drastically changed by the first of our periods. This fact should be borne in mind when one considers the changes that occurred in the later periods. Another important factor is the larger number of elements covered by the reports of the later periods. The third and fourth periods deal with over twice as many elements as the first. Proper allowance for this condition for the purpose of comparison would be to halve the fourth-period changes. If this is done, the changes for each period are remarkably uniform: 15, 14, and 18. [178]

Now if we recall the different types of contact outlined earlier for the history of the Delaware, we find little variation in the amount of change for each type. In the period before 1750 when contact was between communities of whites and Delaware, there was presumably a great change in material culture. Between 1750 and 1850 the whites with whom the Delaware had contact were mostly traders and missionaries. Increasing emigrant trains and white settlers in the neighborhood of their Kansas reservation created so much trouble that in 1867 the Delaware sold their

177 reservation and with the proceeds bought rights as members of the Cherokee Nation. They were soon encroached upon in their new location, and by 1890 there were approximately twice as many whites as Indians in the Cherokee territory. There does not appear to have been any great variation in the rate of culture change until this great influx of white settlers.

In this period of assimilation there was a rapid breakdown of Delaware culture preceded by the loss of control of internal affairs which was the last vestige of political autonomy. The memories of the fourth-period informants cover most of this period of assimilation. I have explained previously that their accounts reflect only inadvertently any of the changes that have taken place recently.

Throughout their checkered historical career, then, the Delaware underwent acculturation at a fairly uniform rate. Their history reveals no correlation between the content of acculturation and the type of white contact. The different aspects of culture showing acculturation are correlated with length of contact rather than with type of contact.

Comparisons between the rate of change in acculturation and the rate of change in assimilation are unwarranted in the case of the Delaware, for with them the assimilation followed a long period of acculturation. It should be pointed out that the control [648 636] of internal affairs was surrendered to the Cherokee and not to the whites although by that time there was no question of their subordination to the latter. When they failed to receive equitable treatment from the Cherokee, they sought justice from the United States Government and submitted to the rule that they had so long rejected.

Most of the changes in the culture of the Delaware are the result of white influence. This was both direct and indirect. Contact with whites was directly responsible for the introduction of many elements such as the rifle and the idea of hell. White contact was indirectly responsible for other changes, such as the discontinuance of use of fish as a staple, use of weirs, and use of single file on the march. These cultural changes followed a change in habitat induced by the whites. Contact with other

tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented 177
in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun.

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware [178]
culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian [167]
group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual [121]
aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last [197]
aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persis- 177
tence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after 771
practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the 764
fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

177 otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of
771 one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, espe-
764 cially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

177 I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change
121 of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

ASTRONOMY, MATHEMATICS, ETC.

1.[1] *Planetary system*

According to CAPTAIN PIPE, the stars were put in the sky 821 for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to JOHN JOHNSTON, the Indians believed that there [791 were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which 773] were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth.

2. *Origin myth*

CAPTIAN PIPE—They claim to be descendants of the Wyan- 773 dots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this [835] incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves.

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

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[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 *6. Names of seasons*

821 The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takǫk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER	*Anixi gischuch*	—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes
ZEISBERGER		—Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

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[1] The character ǫ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

Johnston	*Au, neque kie, shoe*—The squirrel moon 805
Pipe	*Arnĕĕkwsee keeshooh*—Squirrel moon—engendering time 821
Chipps	*Un-ex-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Motwigiso*—Hungry month—eating each other
W. L.	*Mamhotiŋ*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
W. T.	*Skolikřso*—Frogs holler

February

Zeisberger	*Tsquall[illegible] gischuch*—Frog month
Zeisberger	*Squalle gischuch*—Frog month, when frogs begin to croak
Heckewelder	—Frog month, because on warm days they begin to croak
Johnston	*Chau, quol, le, ki, shoe*—The frozen month
Pipe	*Tsharkŏălee kĕĕshooh*—Frog moon
Chipps	*Squal-i-kà-so*
J. W.	*Anixwikiso*—Sugar moon
W. L.	*Skolĭkiło*—Frogs holler

March

Zeisberger	*M'choamowi gischuch*—Shad month
Zeisberger	*Chwoame gischuch*—Shad month, because this fish goes up rivers in great numbers [136]
Heckewelder	—When on Atlantic coast called shad month, now sugar-making month.
Johnston	*Hau, mo, n'ock, hee, tou*—The white bass moon
Pipe	*Haumoakwhĕĕta kĕĕshooh*—from a species of shell fish found at that time on the sea coast
Chipps	*Quaw-mo-kà-so*
J. W.	*Skoligiso*—Frogs hollering
W. L.	*Komwikřło*—Bees come out

April

805 Zeisberger	*Quitawwouhewi gischuch*—Spring month
821 Zeisberger	*Hackihewi gischuch*—Planting month
Heckewelder	—The spring month
Johnston	*Que, to, e, ha, e, kee, shoe*—no English for it
Pipe	*Kwăătiioahaa kēēshooh*—from the shedding of the hair of the deer
Chipps	*Al-lòu-uk-ke-kair-e-kà-so*
J. W.	—Wet earth, rains
W. L.	*Kičisikonkḯ·so*—Spring starting month

May

Zeisberger	*Tauwinipen*—Beginning summer (signifying hoe is used on Indian corn in this month)
Heckewelder	—The planting month
Johnston	*Ti, e, neep, pen, ie*—The moon between spring and summer
Pipe	*Tiieenēēpen kēēshooh*—Middle moon, between spring and summer
Chipps	*Uk-ke-hàve-ekà-so*
J. W.	—All up, flowers, etc. commence bearing
W. L.	*Mo' ksoatokḯ·lo*—Deer getting red

June

[825] Zeisberger	*Kitschinipen*—Summer (signifies the month in which the deer become red)
Heckewelder	—The fawn month or the month in which the deer bring forth their young, or the month in which the hair of the deer changes to a reddish color
Johnston	*Ke, he, che, neep, pen, ie*—The moon when vegetation is in blossom
Pipe	*Kītsheenēēpen kēēshooh*—Real summer moon
Chipps	*Mo-nùs-ko-màv-e-kà-so*

J. W.	*Kil̆inipen*—Summer	805
W. L.	*Kil̆inipen*—Starting summer	821

July

Zeisberger	*Yugatamoewi gischuch*—The time of raising the earth about the corn	
Heckewelder	—The summer month	
Johnston	*Gock, kau, tau, me, ekeshoe*—The moon when vegetation is blossoming	[824]
Pipe	*Yaukāūtamwaa kēēshooh*—Moon of sacrifice or prayer. Time of feast of first fruits	[796]
Chipps	*La-kòk-me-aò-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	*Dainipen*—Middle summer	
W. L.	*Lainipen ki·l̆o*—Middle of summer	
W. T.	*Kil̆ini·pen*—Middle of summer	

August

Zeisberger	*Sakauweuhewi gischuch*—Deer month	
Zeisberger	*Winu gischuch*—The time when the corn is in the milk and ready to eat and roast	[824 243]
Heckewelder	—The month of roasting ears	
Johnston	*Sok, ho, a, he, ie, kie, shough, i, e,*—The moon when the deer begin to turn gray	[825]
Pipe	*Saukiioahāā kēēshooh*—Moon in which deer get blue hair	
Chipps	*Wà-no-e-kà-so*	
J. W.	—Dry, hot, refreshing	
W. L.	*Kil̆itakøk ki·l̆o*—Beginning fall month	
W. T.	*Socewigil̆o*—Deer change color, Fall side of summer	[825]

September

Zeisberger	*Kitschitachquoak*—Autumn month
Heckewelder	—The autumnal month

805 (21) Johnston	*Ke, he, che, tau, keke*—The moon previous to the falling of leaves
Pipe	*Kītshee Tarkōāk kēēshoohh*—Commencement of cold moon
Chipps	*Shàve-ko-us-ke-kav-e-kà-so*
J. W.	—Gathering moon (harvest)
W. L.	*Wipoŋikì·šo*—Deer getting gray
W. T.	*Poksì·t*—Fall—Leaves are broken

October

Zeisberger	*Pooxit*—Month of vermin (the harvest month)
Heckewelder	—The gathering or harvest month
[824] Johnston	*Pooque, ieete*—The moon that the leaves fall
Pipe	*Pōōkseet kēēshooh*—Broken moon, from the shedding of the leaves
Chipps	*Wa-nàv-o-kà-so*
J. W.	*Dakǫkwinigišo*—Everyone gets together (Big House)
W. L.	*Takǫkinikì·so*—Fall month when everyone gets together
W. T.	*Winikì·so*—Come snow

November

Zeisberger	*Wini gischuch*—Snow month (the hunting month)
Johnston	*We, ne, ke, shoue*—The moon when the snow commences falling
Pipe	*Wēēnee kēēshooh*—The snowy moon
Chipps	*Pah-pò-sòp-wa-e-kà-so*
J. W.	*Dailówen*—Changing, falling moon
W. L.	*Ləwənikì·šo*—Winter moon
W. T.	*Kiìikaǫk*—Fall

December

Zeisberger	*M'chakhocque*—Cold month, the month when the cold makes the trees crack.

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	(Shows the time when the bucks cast their antlers)
HECKEWELDER	—The hunting month, it being the time when the stags have all dropped their antlers
JOHNSTON	*Hack, ho, que*—The moon when the severe cold begins
PIPE	*Hauk hŏākwaa kēēshooh*—The clouded sky moon
CHIPPS	*Nà-we-où-o-wè-kà-so*
J. W.	*Kičilo·wen*—Grandfather—ground covered with snow
W. L.	*Anikwikiˑło*—Squirrel moon—fawn as little as squirrels
W. T.	*Kičilo·wen*—Winter, sure enough

From this material the following hypothetical list of the old names has been reconstructed in more modern orthography:

January	*Anixi kiˑło*—Squirrel month
February	*Skolikiˑło*—Frog month
March	*Kwamowi* or *hømokwita kiˑło*—Shad month
April	*Kwe·to·o·ha·kiˑło*—Spring month
May	*Tainipen kiˑło*—Month between spring and summer or beginning of summer
June	*Kičiniˑpen kiˑło*—Summer
July	*Yukøtamowi*—Summer
August	*Sakawiˑkiˑło*—Deer get gray hair; also *Winukiˑło*—corn ready to roast
September	*Kičitakøk kiˑło*—Autumn month
October	*Po·ksiˑt kiˑło*—Harvest moon, falling leaves
November	*Winikiˑło*—Snow month
December	*Hakhokwa kiˑło*—Cold month

Variations from this by the modern Delaware are shown in the following list:

January	*Motwigiło* or *Mamhotiŋ*—Big snow—hungry—eating each other
April	*Kičisikon kiˑło*—First spring month

805 May *Mo'ksoata kị·ʃo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kiši-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takškinikị·ʃo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo·wen* or *Luwanikị·ʃo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kišilo·wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

10. Eclipses

John Johnston—The eclipses they suppose to be caused by 821 one of the twelve subordinate Deities as an indication of war or some other calamity which they think will shortly come.

Captain Pipe—Eclipses are thus accounted for. Every man [787 as he grows up is visited in his dreams by his tutelar deity in 776 the form of a Bear, Wolf, Dog, Tree, Cornstalk, or any thing 765] else which the imagination can conceive, and by the deity he is protected and governed through life. When he dies his protector assumes the mourning garb common to deities, and through his influence the eclipse of the Sun or Moon takes place in token of the excess of his grief.

Captain Chipps—In an eclipse, they suppose, the moon gets between the Sun and the Earth.

J. W. said that eclipses had meaning but would not say what. Likewise W. T.

14. Four cardinal points

Both J. W. and W. T. named the four cardinal points but thought of up and down as equivalent to them.

16. Meteors as indication of evil

John Johnston—Meteors: They suppose them to be ominous of something bad especially if any person takes notice of 821 787 them and says see that star they think that person will not live long, but they suppose that if they fall to the ground they turn [824] into that substance or ball generally known by the puffball which will by pressing emit a smoke, they are afraid of those balls.

Captain Pipe—The Meteors called shooting stars are thus described. Like the Sun and Moon the stars are brothers to the Indians, human beings, and subject to the frailties of man. When one of them begins to practice lying and fraud he is rejected by [577] the others and obliged to fly from his companions to seek a place of refuge.

J. W.—Meteors are a warning, forecast war etc. The place where the comet goes is the place where the battle or other catastrophe is going to occur. F. W.'s grandmother heard a great

821 wind and looked up and saw a comet shaped like a head dripping
787 fire and blood out of the mouth, coming from the West and going North and East, about five years before the World War.

W. T.—Meteors foretold the direction of a big wind coming the next day—they were already on the move.

18. Ceremonies on appearance of new moon

821 CAPTAIN CHIPPS—When they see the new moon, they thank
782 the Great Spirit that they have lived to see it.

JOHN JOHNSTON—They do not at present but they say it was anciently a custom to offer some kind of a sacrifice.

821 *19. Calculation on time of reappearance of moon*

CAPTAIN PIPE—Nor can they calculate with certainty the time of its reappearance.

RELIGION

21. Concept of Supreme Being

776 JOHN JOHNSTON—They do [have concept of Supreme Being], and distinguish him by calling him the creator of us all and of all things.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They believe in one Supreme Being, who is known generally by the appellation *Keshaallemöönkungk*, "He who created us by his thought;" and sometimes *Kaataunnutööwit*, The great spirit, from *Khit*, great; or *Waalseet Maunûtoo*, He who is the good spirit, from *Woolit*, good. They suppose that this being created the world and remained sometime upon earth, having the moral superintendency of all affairs therein, and that having perfected the system which he commenced he left it.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe in one God, who is "God of the black as well as the white"—they suppose he lives in some world above this earth.

22. Subordinate deities

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in twelve subordinate deities placed in different grades descending from the highest to the lowest, they think the lowest is on earth among them but in-

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the 776
next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated
to the Supreme being.

Captain Pipe—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals,
and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as
beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious
belief by the great distinction in the language, which included
trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings,
and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been
prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment [783]
from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream,
or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming [781]
to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a
Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such [787]
dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject,
and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some
of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them
and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose
wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap [688]
to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. *Evil spirits*

John Johnston—They believe in but one evil spirit which 776
is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but 773
he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the
creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he
had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that
the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into
the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason
(they say) why guilty folk always look down.

Captain Pipe—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune 776
is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They
are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad
Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

Captain Chipps—They believe that "there is a devil, or
there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he
lives they cannot determine.

30-37. Concept of future state

775 JOHN JOHNSTON—They generally believe in future rewards and punishments. They believe if a person is honest and upright in his deportment that immediately after leaving this world he will enter into another equally as good or better and those of the opposite character will be secluded and they think will be unhappy. They appear to (believe in a final judgment) and expect to be judged. They expect to enjoy those pleasures, amusements and all things which were the most agreeable to them on earth in the greatest perfections. They believe that the souls of those who are worthy are immediately after leaving the body conducted by their Deities to a place of happiness, and those who are judged unworthy are left on this earth to wander to and fro and are unhappy, and finally sink into the earth where they deposit their dead bodies there to receive eternal punishment.

CAPTAIN PIPE—They have no doubt that good or bad conduct in this life has an effect upon their future happiness or misery, and they suppose that the punishment or reward commences as soon as life leaves the body. If they have led good lives in this world, their souls are transported to the land of the Great spirit in the south, where they find magnificent dwellings, beautiful streams and fertile lands. There they are employed in worshiping the great author of their existence, through whose means they are furnished with all necessary food, together with many luxuries, living eternally in the enjoyment of the same corporeal pleasures which constituted their happiness on earth, though more refined and not alloyed by pain. Those on the contrary who have led a wicked life, are met at death by some of the evil spirits, by whom they are tormented by different species of torture (among which is fire) eternally. Sometimes they are sent by them again to earth, where they roam about in perfect misery.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that men will be happy or miserable after death, according as their actions in this life are good or bad. After death, they suppose the soul to be traveling along a road which after some space branches off in two directions. At the forks, stands a being with a sword, who directs the good

and bad souls in the proper courses—the good go to Heaven— 775
the bad are conducted by this armed stranger to Hell, where are prepared kettles of boiling water for their special accommodation. They believe in a day of judgment—that "the world will be at an end, when the whites get into full possession of it,"—that the souls only, after death will be accountable, and punished or rewarded. There are no particular days set apart for worship and no other religious ceremonies, but such as appertain to their festivals, war dance, etc. The soul immediately after death, is supposed to leave the body and absent itself, "traveling backwards and forwards" and occasionally visiting the body until the Great day.

J. W.—Soul stays with body of deceased in ground and decays with it. Resurrected at the final calling of everybody by the Creator. Spirit immediately leaves body and goes to all the places it has been during life and all bad actions are punished on the spot. The spirits of the good go almost directly to the Creator. All are ready to go by the 11th day, or 12th at noon, at which time to help them go, relatives give spirit a feast (in the Wolf division only). Six months or a year afterwards a relative or friend may feel the presence of a spirit and give a feast to remove the effects of spirit. Usually a year after death and then every year thereafter. A friend is called to the feast and given the food which he takes out and eats.

W. T. gave the name of ghost to the soul of J. W. and said it stayed on earth while the spirit went "home" to heaven. [774]

W. L. did not distinguish between soul and spirit. Said spirit goes eleven places before going to land of Great Spirit. These eleven places were "like Jacob's ladder."

38. Ghosts

John Johnston—They do [believe in ghosts] very much and 774
say that they have often seen them. 775

Captain Pipe—They have an idea that the ghosts of their deceased friends appear to them in the night, particularly after a failure to offer the customary feast at the grave; and they immediately prepare to do what from neglect or disrespect had

774 been left undone, when the ghost ceases the visits.

775 **Captain Chipps**—Ghosts are not known—have not been heard of.

J. W.—Ghosts are really shades or shadows of spirits, often seen before or after death, they are signs or warnings and can be seen by human eyes. There is much paralysis among the Delaware which is often caused by being struck with a shadow or cross-
[822 ing it or paying any attention to it if one sees it coming. Stopping
753] to look at it, turning around after passing, even innocently, has evil effects. There is no cure for it. Preventive by rubbing
[751] streak of ashes on left cheek under eye before going out in the evening. Often marked children as safeguard.

W. T. attributed to the soul the actions of the shadow reported by J. W.

40. *Witches and wizards*

754 **John Johnston**—They are very firm in the belief of witchcraft and suppose that there is many among them that can appear
[753] in the shape of any animal they please and have power to cause sickness. They believe this to be a supernatural power invested in them by some one of the Deities for the purpose of good that they might have power to heal the sick etc. But that in their present degenerated state they have made a bad use of it, that instead of healing they inflict with sickness and other calamities.

754 **Captain Pipe**—They believe in witches and wizards and
756 attribute their powers to the use of certain medicine, said to have been procured of the Nanticokes who had it from a naked infant found by them on the Sea Shore. In 1810, the prophet when
[792] preaching against the use of this medicine pointed out five or six men and women on white river as the possessors of it. These
[683] persons protested their innocence and were put to the torture, where they were exhorted to save themselves by delivering the means of destruction which they possessd. Seeing no other prospect of escape from death, they professed a knowledge of the arts and promised compliance, but after release they were not able to produce the cause of the difficulty, and they were by common consent condemned to death by burning.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe there are no greater wizards 754
or witches than knaves or drunkards.

All the modern informants confirmed the belief in witches and wizards, but J. W., his wife and son were especially vehement in their current existence.

41. National Worshiping Society (Big House)

JOHN JOHNSTON—They have a national worship which they 794
think keeps the world from coming to an end. It is attended with very great expense in procuring wampum and provisions, etc. This meeting is continued for 12 days and twelve nights successively. They have a large building prepared for that pur- [346]
pose about 25 feet in width and 50 or 60 feet in length according to the number that is expected will attend, with a door in each end, notice is given at what time their worship will commence. When they are collected and seated in a row round the outside 796
of the building the men by themselves and the women by themselves a man and woman at each door the man for a doorkeeper and the women to sweep between every exercise, the fires are made in the middle of the building which they make by rubbing two dry sticks together that it may be pure, the fire they put out every day and make new lest it should become adulterated, they make it by rubbing two dry sticks together as at the first. Thus prepared the one that made preparation for the meeting gets up with a turtle shell in his hand (containing pebbles) and he gives it a shake and the whole assembly arise with him he then begins telling a dream which he says he dreamt in his childhood [787]
and the whole congregation repeats it after him in one voice word by word till he says he heard a voice singing to him and begins to sing immediately upon which two men commence beat- [533
ing with flat sticks upon skins folded together then he stops sing- 535]
ing and he with the whole assembly jump ten or twelve jumps in the form of a dance then he makes a sudden halt and goes on with his dream as before repeated by the whole in one voice until he commences singing again as before and the players commence beating and the whole jump or dance in the form above mentioned thus they continue for the space of half an hour or more

796 according to the length of his dream. Then they seat themselves and the room is swept by the woman at the doors the one that first spoke then shoves the shell under his legs to the next one, if he does not feel a disposition to tell his dream he shoves it to the next without shaking it, and it is shoved from one to another till it comes to one that wishes to tell his dream then he gives the shell a shake and after some minutes commences telling his dream while sitting but soon arises and the whole assembly with him he proceeds in the same manner as above mentioned. At intervals of telling dreams they appoint one or call one by name and give to him a piece of wampum then they call eleven more they go out of the meeting and make doleful noise which is similar to howling but they term it making twelve prayers or praying twelve times then they return in to the meeting and the foreman that is the one that was first called divides the wampum among the twelves that went out. Then commence telling dreams as before and going out to pray in the same manner thus they [784] continue for 12 days and twelve nights abstaining themselves from women and every thing whereby they think they could be defiled. In these meetings they always have one appointed and dressed in bear skins appearing very frightful to go round and examine and see if there is any improper conduct if so he points the stick at him or her which he has in his hand, the door-keepers immediately put the person out of the door and those who are put out are not admitted into the meeting any more. Previous to these meetings they appoint a number of young men to go and kill a certain number of deer which they think will be sufficient to last them during the meeting, these are dressed, their provisions cooked and served to them while in their worship by those that they call their butchers.

Captain Pipe—The grand national worship of the Delawares has been already alluded to, and I come now to a description of it. It is called Engõmween. There are three or four families in the nation whose duty it is by inheritance to prepare for and invite the nation to this assembly, and to whose care is committed every arrangement respecting it. Each family takes upon itself the performance of these duties once in three years; and as they do so in pretty regular succession, the worship is annual, or per- 796 haps more frequent. The time and place of meeting is designated by this family, the principal male of which sends a messenger to the chief or head man of each village, who in his turn disseminates the information through the families of those under him. At the time appointed the nation, as well males as females assemble at a large lodge prepared for the purpose, where the females are placed in rear of the men. Here with grave and [797] downcast looks they sit and receive from one of the old men an address upon the importance of a due observance of the ceremonies of the worship, and of abstinence from all unlawful pleasures during the continuance of them, among which any connection with women is counted a polluting sin. After describing at length the customs of their ancestors, among which this worship is placed in the foreground, the principal man of those who prepared the place of worship, having in his hand a small turtle shell containing a few gravel stones, gives it a sudden shake, and at the signal the worshipers all rise. He then commences a history of his early dream, repeating it in short sentences, in a natural tone of voice and being followed in the repetition of each sentence by all who are in the house. At length he commences to sing his dream, being followed by the company as before, and relieved between the sentences by a chorus of singers who are seated apart from the other worshipers, and have a kind of tambourin composed of a deer skin stretched across four sticks, upon which they beat [533] the time. The music is said to be agreeable and very soft.

After this person has finished the tale of his dream, in which is described minutely every circumstance connected with the appearance of his tutelar deity, as well as those events of his life, [781 which being foretold, have *of course* come to pass, each person 787] in the lodge takes him by the hand in a mystical manner and they all seat themselves. The men then smoke for a short time, preserving the utmost silence and gravity of deportment, during which occupation the speaker takes occasion to push the shell under his legs in a secret manner, to the next on his right, who declares his intention to speak by giving it a slight shake, or pushes it in the same secret way to the next. When one has

776 accepted the turtle by the shake of accession, he remains in a state of apparent meditation for a few minutes, and then rising gives it another rattle, when, as in the preceding instance, he is joined by all the worshipers and the same ceremonies of repeating the dream, are performed.

The worship is commenced at evening and continued until daybreak, when it ceases for the day during which time the worshipers remain in the lodge in perfect silence. Thus it is repeated from night to night six times, and at the closing of the last night they adjourn for an hour or two, and then finish the worship with the relation of the dream of some extraordinary personage, whose history has been preserved in tradition. They cease at noon of the last day.

To discharge the menial services incident to the meeting of
[793] so large a body four servants are appointed, of whom two are males and two females. They sweep the council house at every interval of worship and perform any other duty required of them, for which they receive a compensation in wampum before the close of the meeting. To this stock of wampum when collected by the principal or leader of the assembly all contribute who have the means. Besides these officers, an old man of the juggling class is employed to keep order in the assembly. It is supposed he can tell by going around the lodge whether any
[784] person has been polluted since the commencement of the worship, by connection with the opposite sex. To such person he points a stick and if he be a man the male servants lead him out of the lodge, from which he is expelled during the remainder of the worship. If a woman the same service is performed by the female domestics. The old inquisitor is dressed in the skin of a bear, with a frightful mask on his face, and is said to be a terrific object, particularly to those guilty of a breach of the customs of the assembly. His attention is often roused by the complaints of some one while telling his dream, who will stop and pretending to find a difficulty in speaking will ascribe it to the improper conduct of one of the members. Upon such occasion the old man commences his examination and his scrutinizing eye points out the object (perhaps innocent as himself) who is immediately removed, and the speaker continues.

During the intervals between the songs, or at least once every 796 night, the principal rises from his seat and calls before him six or twelve persons (male) (generally the latter number) from the worshipers. He then delivers to the male servants a quantity of wampum in strings, corresponding to the number of persons called. With these the servants precede the chosen, who go out of the lodge and with their faces turned to the east, seat themselves upon their hams and commence a kind of howl, which they repeat in the same tone twelve times. They then return to the lodge with great solemnity, and take their places as usual. —As a kind of relaxation from the severer duties of the worship, these chosen men are directed by the principal to scatter a quantity of wampum in grains, upon the ground within the lodge. This is for the benefit of the servants, who are obliged to stand upon one leg and take it up with the thumb and finger, a slow method, affording amusement to the spectators. But this only occurs at the close of the night's worship and would be considered improper at any other time. Dancing is sometimes practiced at these assemblages and besides the employment of relating their dreams they are [77] frequently addressed by the old men in exhortations to preserve these customs in their purity, to prolong their own existence by continuing the meetings, and to adore the author, the Great spirit.

MEDICINE

42. *Diseases*

To the list on the table ROGER WILLIAMS adds toothache as 164 one of the greatest afflictions of the Indians (Narragansets); J. W., mumps; W. L., small pox. E. R. said that rheumatism was introduced only recently.

54. *Juggling tricks.*

The so-called juggling tricks were used only when the patient 755 was dangerously ill, according to JOHN JOHNSTON. These tricks, according to J. W., W. T., and W. L., were used only by the sweat doctors in diagnosing a complaint.

57. Rumbling noise made by jugglers

755 [756] The rumbling noise made by jugglers mentioned in the earlier accounts was replaced by singing in the accounts of J. W., W. T., and W. L., all of whom said that the sweat doctor sang or talked about his vision which gave him his power to see into the vitals of the patient and determine the nature of his illness.

GENERAL MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

61. Eating of human flesh

266 There is no statement about the eating of human flesh in
LINDESTRÖM, but there is a description of torture by fire among
[727] the Minquas, and the inference is that such was not practiced
among the Delaware and, also, that the eating of human flesh
was not common if present at all.

62. Handshaking

576 JOHN JOHNSTON—[Salutation is] by shaking each other by the left hand as token of friendship considering the left hand to be the nighest to the heart. They say but little, except I am glad to see you your looks are familiar the countenance expressed gladness. (Shaking hands is an Indian, and they say an ancient custom.)

CAPTAIN PIPE—Their mode of salutation in meeting is not
peculiar. They sometimes express a pleasure in seeing each other,
at others the simple *Anishee*, (I am thankful,) is the only ex-
pression. They do not as with us, inquire after the health of their
families, but of their business, route, etc. It is believed that
shaking hand is an Indian custom, but before their knowledge of
the whites they used the left hand. In the Engömween, or wor-
[796] shiping assembly, where ancient customs are said to prevail al-
together, they always use the left hand.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—The mode of salutation is by shaking hands:—inquiries after healths succeed. The shaking of hands (say they) "was in use from the time they were created."

J. W. and W. L. say that using left hand was formerly Delaware custom.

W. T. and E. R. say that right was always used. 576

68. Story telling: in winter and at night only

W. L. said that one rule was that no one could sit up during 538
the telling of stories as it might make them humpbacked. 784

78. Peculiarities in encampments

John Johnston—There is no [peculiarity] in their moving 361
from place to place or in their hunting encampments, but they 726
are very particular in the mode of erecting their war encampments.

E. R.—Camp site was fixed so that allied tribes would know
who had been there, and which direction they went. The way [262]
they fixed the fire and ashes would tell who made the camp.

79. Identification of makers of encampment

John Johnston—They can [identify them] because every 361
tribe has a different mode of encamping and by the size of the 202
camp or camps they can calculate very nigh the number that
were in them.

Captain Chipps—They can tell the camps of the Cayugas and Massisagas, by their peculiar manner of encamping. Generally speaking, it is impossible for them to tell from a deserted camp, what particular tribe has occupied it.

83. Differences from other tribes in sociability, etc.

J. W.—Delaware are more friendly and sociable than other 181
tribes even though they cannot trust others. The Delaware way of raising is to have children grow up to be friendly and pleasant so that other people will like them and they may do big things—get places on council, in Big House, and be a credit to parents.

W. T.—Sociability, friendliness, and hospitality are marked characteristics that distinguish Delaware from other tribes and should be rated first.

88. Spare lives of snakes

Heckewelder stated that Delaware spared the lives of snakes 784
because killing one would bring other creeping things to bite them. 825

784 **John Johnston**—Their principal reason is that the snake is
825 such a malicious and spiteful animal that if they should kill them the rest would know it and would bite them.

Captain Chipps—They sometimes avoid killing snakes, on a march, because they say, "that if they kill one, the rest will be madder."

J. W.—Snakes were not killed unless necessary—"don't kill for nothing." Besides could tell good from bad snakes.

E. R. said that there were no rules against the killing of snakes and that he feared no retribution.

BIRTH AND ITS INCIDENTS

89. *Naming of child*

553 **Captain Pipe**—Children are named at one of the grand wor-
[796] shiping councils, and as opportunities do not occur regularly, there is no particular age at which they are formerly [*sic.* formally?] named. (Children at times do not receive their names until they are quite large, at others while they are infants.) The child when about to be named is taken to the assembly and there presented to one of the old men (who is an orator and) of the same tribe with the father, together with a fathom of wampum for his services. This old man taking the child by the hand, rises and proclaims aloud his name, requesting all who hear him to
[776] recollect. He then proffers a short prayer to the Great spirit in supplication for his blessing on the child during life; after which it is returned to its parents.

[846] **Captain Chipps**—There are no christenings—or ceremonies at the birth of their children. After the birth, a year or two,
851 sometimes less, the child is taken into council, and named. The
553 father names and the preacher announces the name to the assembly in a speech of some length—in which, he congratulates the parents of the child—hopes the child may become a good boy and "prays to God" to make him a good man, a good hunter and a good warrior.

J. W.—Has never seen or heard of naming in Big House. Parents take child to grandparents, either side. They give him

name by the month in which he was born. Three or four days 551
after birth, not over five months. They set a day on which rela- 553
tives and friends bring things, grub, give it to baby—glad there
are new folks, kin to us, who have come to live with us. Then [558]
every birthday give big feast.

E. R. and W. L. said names might be given immediately after birth or not until several days had passed.

90. Particular age of naming child

Lindeström says when they become large enough to shoot a gun.

91. Descriptive names

J. W.—Names in keeping with month of birth. 553

W. L.—Animal names are used but not exclusively.

93. Names from dreams

E. R.—All names come from dreams. Child might go several 553
days without a name. Chaff each other in the family about not 787
being able to give a newborn child a name. Finally one of the parents or grandparents, going to bed with this on his mind so much, would awake with a dream of a name.

John Johnston—It is generally from dreams dreamt by the parent or some relation, relative to the agility or faculty of some animal, which they say appears to them and tells a pretty story.

97 and 98. Individual has more than one name; changed later in life

John Johnston—They have [more than one name] some- 553
times but the second one is one of their own choosing when they arise to years of discretion.

Captain Pipe—Although they never have more than one name at a time it is not uncommon for them when grown up, to change their name, in which case the same ceremonies at the grand council take place. This subsequent naming (it sometimes goes as far as a third) is sometime because the original appellation, 553 being descriptive may be more appropriate for children; at others because the subject has performed some remarkable feat of bravery or is otherwise deserving of a favorite name.

[551] E. R. and W. L. said that there were no second names except English ones and nicknames.

103. Education

867 869 **Captain Pipe**—Each man considers it his duty to advise the children of the same tribe with himself, and to instruct them by precept the way they should go, and to this kind of advice the father, though he may be never so great a scoundrel, is very particular, always enforcing the duty of correctness in their moral conduct. There is no system of education among them.

The account of the way J. W. was raised was recorded, practically verbatim, as follows:

When I was a baby they took good care of me—raise me so I could walk. When I was little my mother had to be awfully [262] careful. There was a certain food she must not eat. Not any side meat, or inside (liver, etc.) while nursing. Ham and shoulders all right—gave her strength. Any kind of vegetables, fruits, were all right. Anything cracked like nuts must not be eaten. Hominy all right. Must be careful about going [784] places, seeing things that surprise you which might get inside and affect child through milk. No cradles—wrap up in nice little clean cloths.

262 869 When I can eat: must not eat lots of different foods; such as like egg, inside meat; only outside but just good meat—none close to joint or head. Corn, vegetables all right, fruits all right but just so much.

When I can help myself—so I can see, eat by myself, well then any food, nuts or meat must not be eaten first, but give to either father, mother or other old folks, and then eat and as much as I want. Then they tell me certain parts I must not eat from then on until I am a man. They say don't ever eat egg, no liver, don't drink soup, unless you tell me, then I tell you what to do before you take, to give you strength. I say I want soup—they say run about a quarter of a mile (after taking).

That gives me strength in the legs. Don't eat with your folks, 262
wait until they get done. They leave what you should eat. 869

When my mother and father go somewhere, they take me
along but I must not pry around but stay with one of my folks. 867
Then if they think I should ~~be out~~ they tell me "go out there
and play but play good—whoever you see you must mind him
—pay attention." Come back when they can you. Afternoon
from three to four o'clock one must not play, run around or
holler. Do not eat in the evening. Drink very little water. Go
to bed at sundown. In the morning, just day, get up, wash, clean
yourself up, take a refreshing. The sun come up and see you,
give you strength, life. They tell me when you go out be careful.
To go a little ways, you ask. Maybe want a little water,
go get it—grandfather—have a thought—great thing—give you
strength, give it to your folks, they thank you, drink, then you
take it. Same way wood, go get it, put it over here, let your folks
put it in the fire, don't put in fire until they tell you so. Don't
just hit things with your ax until we tell you so. Don't kick
things, there's your hand—use it—pick it up—if you can't pick
up something in your way, go around. Then suppose somebody
come—anybody—don't go meet him, or talk to him—stay away.
But if somebody call you, have something for you to do, come and
do it. Maybe he have something to tell you—don't forget it—
maybe he give you good advice. Don't ever stand there and look
at people too much. Look at them when they tell you something.
Then when you get to be a big boy, you know and recognize
things. You kill game—must not eat. I don't get to eat first
game, give it to folks and let them eat it. Next game you can
eat but there are certain parts like back you must not eat until
you are a man. Then my father or mother send me some place
to see somebody—tell him they want him to come over but I
must come right back. When I get back they ask me if I tell
them and what they say. I must answer if I am playing around
and they call me—not just come but answer. Come with whip [861]
to show me if I get beyond call. Wore long homemade shirt, [291]
breechcloth, moccasins (barefoot in summer). Leggings of heavy
cloth in winter. No hat. One little thin blanket in one corner or

867 under bed. Use hands to eat. Sticks for forks, wooden spoons, knives only to cut meat. Ax to cut bones. No canned goods—stuff put in it might harm you—only clean food eaten.

867 In Fall, November, before sunup go to creek and swim.
866 Wind cold, water warm, give you strength, get out look like
something pinched you. Go to house, burn cedar, refresh you.
[863] That's your health your body, no disease. If you are not clean
any little thing can catch you.

Then when you get to be a man. Don't whoop like boy. Must
take care of yourself—whooping might strain something. Then
they tell me I can have a woman. If I see one I want I tell the
[864] old folks. I must not prowl around. Maybe another clan, maybe
same clan but not folks. The old folks have rules, they talk to girl's folks. Her folks talk to her about me. Her folks like mine, mine like hers. Give her folks something, goods, blankets, etc. Big feast, invite people. Wedding—preacher talk to me and her. Tell us we must talk over things—where one of us wants to go, what to do, etc. Then maybe it's all right. Wife in family way must not go (six months or so after marriage) to see sick people, death or butchering. Any good things all right. Anything wrong or unnatural might affect child.

105. Corporeal punishment for children

861 Zeisberger says in one place that children were not punished, but reproved for mischief with gentle words; in another that water was thrown in their faces as punishment.

John Johnston—(No restraint or punishment) except threatening and denying them food for a certain time.

Captain Chipps—The domestic government of children is wild. Disobedience is punished severely by flogging—other offenses are considered lighter.

W. L.—Corporeal punishment was whipping but also throwing water in their faces. Think a lot of water and would pray to it (to wash child clean?) while throwing it in child's face.

106. Age at which childhood ceases

884 John Johnston—When they are considered capable of providing for themselves.

Captain Pipe—In the days of yore children were considered 884 as bound to obey their parents, and were not suffered to marry until the age of thirty if males or twenty-four if females; but to use their own language, they have so degenerated that in these days, when a boy begins to grow hoarse he assumes the practices of a man, declares himself independent and marries.

Captain Chipps—At the age of 12, children cease to be such. They are considered young men, but are subject to the usual family punishments for offenses, until they become of age.

E. R.—Childhood generally considered to end at 14 to 15 years of age but in backward cases was later.

W. L.—About 20 years of age depending on individual.

107. Adoption of children by near relatives

Zeisberger—In many cases children who have become 597 motherless after birth have been reared by careful old women. Sometimes children are given to such women. Then they spare no pains in rearing them. Soup made of Indian corn, pounded [853] very fine, is given by them to infants of tender age, that may have come into their possession. Ordinarily, orphans, even if they have lost but the mother, meet with hard experience and often suffer want. Children who have been given or bequeathed, on the contrary, are almost without exception well cared for.

John Johnston—They are not [adopted by near relatives], but when they adopt it is from a family that is not connected and when adopted are considered members of the family that they are adopted into. On death of parents care of child devolves upon nearest relation.

Captain Pipe—Orphans and sometimes neglected children, are often adopted by good men in the nation, and are in such case considered as the children of the adopting person subject to the same privileges which his own children enjoy. In case of the death of the parents, the maternal grandfather or mother is bound by custom to take the children under protection; but if they also be dead the children are adopted by such relatives or friends as may be inclined to take charge of them.

597 **Captain Chipps**—Children are never adopted by their relatives—adoption is confined to those who have been taken prisoners. If both parents die the charge of the children devolves on the nearest relative. Orphans are not provided for—but seldom suffer, and it is considered "a good thing" to administer to their wants.

J. W.—Orphan taken care of by some one close to orphan or family—some one who knows about it and has watched it—is given the orphan to raise in preference to a near relative. Some one who has heard of the child's predicament is given the child if he makes his wishes known.

113. Control of parents over mature children

885 **John Johnston**—They [parents] do [have control over mature children] for they consider them better able to receive the counsels of the parents.

Captain Pipe—Parental feelings are very strong and generally continue during life, in consequence of which, aged relatives consider it their duty to advise the young and deter them from the commission of wrong. But no compulsory means are used after their arrival at years of discretion.

Captain Chipps—Attachment of parents to children continues through life. And parental authority is exercised at all ages.

E. R.—Children stayed under supervision of parents even after they were married and until first child was born. After that they might ask for advice but it was seldom given otherwise.

W. L.—Parents exercise control over children until they are married. (He was adopted by paternal grandparents when he was about 22 years of age.)

115. Daily bath given child

854 **John Johnston**—for one year.

[863] J. W.—for five years.

W. T.—for four years.

E. R.—twice daily for ten days, then daily for three to four months.

W. L.—for four to five years.

121. Cradle put in hammock 854

W. L. said that a cradleboard was formerly used but that 352
his children were all raised in a cradle hammock, consisting of a cloth or piece of blanket, two ropes and two sticks. The ropes were suspended parallel, the edges of the blanket fastened to or around the ropes, and the sticks placed at the ends of the blanket to keep the ropes apart.

123. Any difference in treatment of legitimate and illegitimate children 848 [836]

W. T.—No difference because Delaware never had latter. Young folks did not play around—old folks watched them too close.

MARRIAGE AND ITS INCIDENTS

131. Courtship

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—Courtships are brief. If a man sees a 584
woman whom he likes, he gives her presents, and persuades her [836]
to sleep with him. Should they be mutually pleased, they afterwards live together as man and wife. The consent of parents on the subject is seldom asked—although it is considered proper [585]
to consult parents on the subject. If a marriage is consummated as above, and the parents are displeased, they use their exertions to separate the young couple—they fail, however, for the new-married couple elope, when the alarm is sounded. There is no ceremony of marriage but the above.

E. R.—Both girls and boys were told to accept the first pro- 584
posal they received. The old people kept telling them this and 577
to show what might happen to them if they did not do this they 539
told the following story. Once there was a girl who was very pretty, one boy after another wanted to marry her but she did not care much for any of them and would not listen to her old folks. Then one day when she was out in the woods she met a very handsome young stranger. She fell for him, and when he said he wanted to take her home with him, she agreed. He took her into a nearby hollow where he had a very nice home. He told his mother he had brought home a wife and she was very

584 glad. They settled down there and the girl was very contented.
577 She had a nice home, a handsome husband who was an excellent
539 hunter, bringing in lots of game every day. Things went along like that for about a year. Then one morning when she woke up her husband was not there. She went outside and asked the old lady, who was cleaning up around the fire, sweeping the yard and so forth, if she knew where her son was. The old lady thought he was home and the girl went back in the house to look again. In the middle of the bed a great big bull snake was curled up. She screamed and ran outside and told the old lady. The old lady was mad and said, "So he is playing tricks again," and grabbing a stick of firewood, went inside and began to beat the snake saying "get up you lazy fellow." Her son came out of the house laughing and began to tease his wife, asking her if she was scared. She was so scared she could hardly talk to him. After breakfast during which he continued to tease her, he went off. The old lady then talked to the girl and told her that while she had been there a year, she would not be happy there any longer and that it would be better if she went home to her own people. She went back home after being away almost a year. Her folks were glad to see her. She was pregnant and after a while got sick. She went off in the wood by herself and was very sick. Two little boys were playing in the woods and saw her lie down by a big log. They watched her die and going near her saw little snakes crawling out of her mouth, nose, eyes and ears. When the boys told the old folks what they had seen, they went out and looked at the body. They did not know what to make of it all but thought that that was what came from rejecting the first proposal the girl received.

[754] His old folks told E. R. that they did not know just how it all happened but thought that one of the fellows the girl had turned down had used power to get the snake to marry the girl and also used power to deceive the girl's eyes into thinking she was seeing a man. E. R. says the old folks were glad the old days were gone and that there were no longer people who could do things like that. Also they were glad that the days were gone when a person had to do things according to rules whether they were right or wrong.

134. Any ceremony of marriage 585

Lindeström says that only chiefs had anything considered a marriage or any ceremony of marriage, the common people mating promiscuously.

John Johnston—The young couple have nothing to say to [584]
each other till the bargain is made by the parents then the young man gives a present of goods to the parents of the young woman and they are considered married.

Captain Pipe—There is no ceremony of courtship and mar- 584
riage in these degenerate days. Anciently, when the father as- 585
certained that his son desired to marry, if he was of proper age, he sought for him a suitable partner in the person of some female of his acquaintance, and carried to her father a bundle of presents, making known to him at the same time the object of his visit. If the father of the female accepted the present, it was a signal of his consent to the union and the visitor returned to declare the result of his visit to his son. On the following night the female was conducted by her relatives to the lodge of her intended husband and there delivered to him. The day succeeding was taken up by the relatives of the bride in carrying to those of the groom large presents of corn, squashes, etc., together with pouches and other ornaments, the produce of female labour, and they also gave her a kettle for cooking. This was the conclusion of the ceremony, and the new married couple then set themselves at work to provide for their future subsistence. Instances of refusal to comply with the wishes of the parents have seldom been known.

J. W.—(See last paragraph of his autobiography under discussion of element 103, *ante*, p. 104.)

139-144. Polygamy

John Johnston—They generally have but one [wife] for 592
they consider it wrong yet they some times have more. The one 595
that can exercise the most bodily strength is considered superior. They (form one family) when the women can agree but if they cannot agree they live separate.

Captain Pipe—Formerly each man had but one wife, but now they are permitted to marry as many as they can maintain,

592 who generally form the same family, the youngest having the
595 husband's preference. But if they cannot agree to live together
they reside in separate cabins and receive the visits of the husband
when he deigns to make them.

Captain Chipps—Polygamy is common with the rich—but "one woman is generally a match for a man," and with the poor, there is never more than one. If a man has several wives, he treats them equally well—they compose one family.

J. W. refused to comment on polygamy, while W. T. denied that there were ever any cases.

W. L. said that a person might have two or three wives but did not do so commonly. Reported that Sam White Turkey had three. Children by each were considered members of one family.

148. Polygynous sororate obligatory

595 John Johnston—If the man appears to regret the loss of his
587 wife and shuns the intercourse of women for a number of months,
the relatives of the deceased will present him a suit of new clothes
and give him to wife a sister or some other relative of his former
wife, the same mode is adopted with regard to the women.

W. T. said both sororate and levirate if the relatives of the deceased insisted, but not otherwise.

158. Following divorce children stay with mother

586 Captain Chipps—If they have children, the parent to whom they are most attached takes and provides for them—there is no equal division of children.

W. L.—Children might stay with mother although father often kept boys.

165. Illegitimate children injurious to reputation of mother

848 Captain Pipe—So far as regards the reputation of women who have children without being married it is affected much as that of the whites. They secure to themselves a good deal of contempt and worthless fellows for their husbands.

168. Proportion of married women without children

842 Zeisberger, Captain Chipps, J. W., and E. R. all said the proportion of women without children was unknown. Hecke-

WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather 842
more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children 163

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly 582
got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated 128
by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant 764
relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; [177]
anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, [761
because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might 776]
restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [176] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of
765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

769
fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the deceased. 765

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764 they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776] the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends
763 when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to
good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to
procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their under-
takings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute
[761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in
perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in pos-
session of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this
many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the
disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon
their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were
chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death
of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked;
the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked.
[768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the de-
ceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles
were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before
burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moc-
casin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins
were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock)
one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with
about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins
[525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire.
The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the
attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied
the game but food was available for all visitors.

In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction. 764

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). Formerly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family. [767 782]

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked 765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then [775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 767 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women, who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons 764
performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of 767
the day after death. During this time the relatives and others
played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The [525]
grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East.
Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled
in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse
led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps,
not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks
of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this circuit.
Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then 765
visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four
nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew
it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days
relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin
folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was
washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered
new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased
to take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two
years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new
spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long,
so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to
one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or
two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as
relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to 764
deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go 782
home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which 764
corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each [782] throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and [589] told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

the bones cleaned and placed on a shelf on a rack where they were 765 allowed to decay, with no further attention being paid to them.

194. Mourning

Lindeström said that after the racking of the bones (see under 189) there was a further period of fourteen days of mourning, making the total at least forty-eight days and perhaps longer.

John Johnston—No particular length of time (for mourning).

Captain Pipe said that widow or widower observed mourning for nine months but practiced elements listed on the table as 195 to 197 inclusive, only during twelve days.

Captain Pipe, W. T. and E. R. See verbatim accounts given above, pp. 111-14, 116-18.

W. L.—Some terminated the mourning on the fourth day and others on the eleventh or twelfth day. Widow can marry then if she wishes.

195. Widows hair long and unkempt

Van der Donck said that in certain cases the women shaved off their hair when their husbands died.

198. Widows and widowers do not remarry

W. T.—See account given at beginning of this section, p. 117.

199. Termination of mourning

John Johnston—They are affected in the same manner as the whites and their grief wears off by degrees.

W. L.—Widow is attended by some one of the relatives of the deceased up to the fourth, eleventh, or twelfth day and is then washed, dressed in new clothes and turned loose.

200. Visiting of grave.

Captain Chipps said that visits to the graves of deceased [769] friends were frequent and that prayers were made for the salvation of souls of the deceased, but did not say how long they continued.

202. Relatives observe mourning

765 John Johnston—All the relatives and some times more [observe mourning], according to the rank sustained by the deceased person.

206. Belief that bodies will be restored

775 Captain Pipe said that formerly the Delaware believed that bodies would be restored.

Captain Chipps—Thinks that he lived on the earth in "the olden time," from the circumstance of his being born with his ears bored, he thinks also, that if his spirit should go to Heaven, after death, he may be again restored to life.

207 and 208. Disposition of property of deceased

768 In the cases where an answer appears in only one alternative it means that the property of the deceased went first to that group and the other group had second choice.

Lineage

209. Nations divided into tribes

619 Whereas all the others said the Delaware had three divisions, Turtle, Turkey, and Wolf, Captain Chipps appears to have considered the question in a little different light, for his eight tribes are, *Oo-nóm-ma-u* or Delaware, *Mùn-see*, *Mo-hi-ga-ny* or Stockbridge, *Waù-pon-no* or Mohekan, *Waùb-ping* or Opossum, *U-sópe-see* or Esopus, *Oo-nàh-ti-co* or Nanticoke, and *Šcàh-ti-co.*

213. Tribes are exogamous

[582] See J. W.'s autobiography in notes under 103, *ante*, p. 104. The rules he talked about the old folks having were concerned with family and division relationships. He could not give any of the rules, but it is apparent that one of the things talked over by the old folks was the propriety of the proposed marriage as to blood lines and clan affiliations. Marriage might be either within the clan (as they call each of the three divisions) or without.

Chiefs

216. Civil chieftainship hereditary 643

Captain Chipps said that the brother of a chief, if he behaves well, must be named as chief in preference to the son and that the sister's son also succeeded in preference to his own son, all of which was determined by the council.

E. R. thought that the chieftainship was hereditary but was not certain of the succession.

221. Election of civil chief

Captain Pipe—At the creation of the world the Great Spirit 643 himself resided with the Indians and regulated their intercourse 666 with each other. When he left the earth he told them that he would depute a person possessing all his own virtues, at whose death they should choose a successor having as nearly as possible the same qualifications. Since that period the office of chief has been elective, yet the election is not made by the people. Merit alone ensures to a man this distinguished honour. There is among them a body of men called *Lupwaaeenöäwuk* or Wise Men, (the [623] plural, from *Lupwaaöäkum* wisdom and *Lünnoa* a man). These men from their conduct in early life receive the attention and respect of the aged and as they grow in years they gradually assume the power which is attached to the wise men or counselors. At length they are received as members of that powerful body and become officially interested in the proper regulation of national affairs. All civil affairs are conducted and ordered by them and when the office of chief becomes vacant they assemble and in the presence of the *people* they consult together upon the qualifications of the aspirants and having decided they appoint another meeting for his inauguration, to which, as to the first, they invite the nation generally. At the appointed time the *Lupwaaeenöäwuk* together with the elected chief and such spectators as choose to attend, assemble at a grand lodge prepared for the purpose, and one of the body in a speech adapted to the occasion declares to the people their choice and then turning to the chief addresses him on the importance of a firm, independent

643 and upright course of conduct, of good examples from the heads
666 of the nation etc. During the speech the speaker holds in his hand a belt of wampum, which he places around the neck of the chief, telling him, "now you have the speech, see that you keep it, and adhere to the advice contained in it."

Captain Chipps said that all the tribes elected the chief for the others, excluding from the election the tribe for whom the election is held. He also said that the principal chief was always from the Wolf tribe, but was elected by the other tribes. In view of his statements that the brother must be chosen over the nephew or son, and the nephew over the son, and that the chief could name his successor, it is possible that here he means the other tribes installed the new chief.

All four modern informants said that the council and the people in joint session elected the new chief.

Zeisberger said the election of a new chief was made by "the captains," by which it may be assumed that he meant the war chiefs.

225. Civil chief can be removed

643 Captain Pipe—As chiefs are elected by the will of the people, in the same manner they are removed from office. Not by direct accusation and trial however, for they are careful not to
[571] arraign an individual publicly before the nation whether he be great or low, but by neglecting to invite him to councils or refusal to listen to or execute his orders. This being done by the aged and influential, whose motives are made known at proper times, the neglect becomes general, the people contemn his authority and he is gradually lowered down to the private station, whence he does not attempt to rise but by a long course of good conduct or by some extraordinary effort of genius or political intrigue by which he can overpower his enemies at a single movement.

228. Age of succession of chief

John Johnston—No particular age, it depends on the ability, information and qualifications of the persons.

Captain Chipps—They cannot be *principal chiefs* until they are 50 years old. 643

J. W.—35 to 40.

W. T.—Formerly, when Delaware lived to age of 300 years, a man had to be 70 to become a chief.

E. R.—Over 25.

W. L.—No particular age.

232. Boundary line between civil and war chief

Captain Pipe—Formerly the authority of the War and Council chiefs was distinctly defined. To use their expression, in a time of peace the war chief sat in the ashes, but upon the declaration of war the village or council chiefs took his place, and the movements of the war depended solely upon him. At this day however they have equal authority in treaties and the like, that is to say, according to their influence as men.

238. Body of counselors

John Johnston—The Counselors are appointed or chosen by the people according to their merit. Their duty is to assist in any good work that they are doing and to promulgate and cherish order. 623

Captain Pipe—The ceremonies attending the appointment of chief are practiced also at the reception of one of the wise men into that formidable body, excepting the placing a belt around the neck, which is not used at all. The Lupwaaeenöāwuk are not restricted to any particular number, but accessions are made of such as merit an admission from the general tenor of their lives. The members of this body, or some one of them as occasion may require, are appointed to carry into effect the orders of the chiefs, and any employment, however degrading, is considered by them an honour under such circumstances. In the distribution of annuities and of presents their services are indispensible, and while young they carry the kettles of the war parties while on the march. 643 666

Unimportant or ordinary occurrences are considered as within the superintendence of the Chiefs without consultation or advice; such as regulating the internal affairs of their villages, settling disputes, etc.; but affairs of consequence are never acted upon

643 without the concurrence of the Lupwaaeenōäwuk, from whom in
666 fact all important transactions emanate. The consultations of these men precede all treaties, declarations of War, etc., and after expressing their opinion as a body each member considers himself individually bound to assist and obey the Chief in the execution of it.

Captain Chipps—There is no particular body of counselors, except the chiefs—they have no stated times of holding councils, and meet only when business requires.

The young men are entitled to sit in Council at the age of 20, and are *then* "their own masters"—they can marry before that period, but are not entitled to the rights and privileges of men until they reach that age.

Councils are seldom called—except on matters relating to war—"the administration of law" is not known. The Council is opened by prayers to the Great Spirit, to give them wisdom. One man is appointed to make speeches, who is to be under the guidance and direction of the chiefs. No others have a right to address the Council—the orator is generally "the smartest man"—"*the best man.*" After the speaker has done, the chiefs make up their decisions,—which are immediately reported to all the people. Prayer closes the proceedings and the Council breaks up. Women are not admitted to the Councils.

J. W.—Council consisted of ten councilors, chief and assistant chief. All were elected by clan (later only for nation) and could be removed. Lately called only for business. Committees were appointed by council for term of two years. Meetings of council every two years. Many committees continued to function past terms if no new council. Speaker was supposed to be the voice of chief and council. (J. W. is now the speaker.) Young men were sometimes admitted to council for training. If council and people could not decide on some matter, the chief had the final voice, it was up to him to determine what the majority seemed to feel.

W. T. said that the council consisted of two chiefs and four other men.

W. L. reported that there were always twelve men elected by the people of the council.

JUSTICE

246. Use of force by creditor

J. W. said that a creditor or victim of a theft did not use 685
force himself to get restitution but applied to the chief. Failing 686
restitution, the chief appointed a man to punish the offender by whipping. On a second or third offense, the chief appointed two men who tied offender to a tree and whipped him with twelve sticks, using one at a time until all were broken. Whipped him to death, was J. W.'s way of putting it. This he was quite sure was the punishment formerly used. Rape was also punished in the same way.

247. Redress of civil injuries

ROGER WILLIAMS said force was used for restitution in case 681
of theft involving different tribes.

254. Amount of wampum paid by murderer

ZEISBERGER said one hundred fathoms of wampum for the 681
murder of a man and two hundred for that of a woman. A per- 682
son who murdered a relative usually went free.

JOHN JOHNSTON reported that two hundred fathoms was the amount necessary to close the breach on the first offense, no amount being satisfactory for later offenses of this nature.

CAPTAIN PIPE—If a murder is committed the friends and relatives of the murderer collect by their own means and the
contributions of others a quantity of wampum, which they de- [696]
posit with the Chief of their own tribe from time to time until the stock amounts to an hundred and twenty fathoms if the murdered person be a man or an hundred and thirty fathoms if a woman. When this is effected the Chiefs call a council at which the nation, or as many as are so inclined, with the friends of the deceased and the murderer assemble. Here, after a few remarks by way of consolation to the afflicted relatives the acceptance of the wampum is proposed to them, and if they refuse eight fathoms are added to it and the presentation is repeated. If they persist in their refusal eight fathoms more are added and should they still reject the offer the connexions of the murderer

681 pronounce themselves ready to meet the opposite party in any
682 way they may propose to avenge themselves. The fear of the anger of the nation always induces them at last to accept the wampum and compromise the matter. Great difficulties sometimes occur in procuring the quantity of wampum required by law. Seven or eight years have been thus employed. In such cases twelve fathoms are presented immediately after the commission of the offense, as an earnest of the desire of the aggressors to settle the difference in an amicable manner. The acceptance of this first offering is a pledge on the part of the injured relatives to receive the balance. No other presents accompany the wampum, as is the case among the northern Indians.

The guilty person if he be a worthless man, not respected by his own relatives or by the nation will generally effect his escape if possible, for he cannot hope for assistance in obtaining the quantity of wampum necessary. If he be poor but reputable he will probably "deliver his body" as they say, to the relatives of the murdered, and his life being in their hands they have an opportunity to show their generosity which they frequently seize upon.

Offenses of this nature are very often settled by a much smaller quantity of wampum than that mentioned, but as the law requires the one hundred and twenty or thirty fathoms a refusal to accept less does not meet the displeasure of the nation as would be the case if the legal quantity were rejected.

The murder of an individual belonging to a different tribe in the nation of the murder, is considered as a more heinous crime than if the parties were of the same parent stock, and is treated accordingly.

Captain Chipps—The punishment of death, however, is not sanctioned. The ordinary method of settling a difficulty, is by giving presents of wampum to the person injured—this is by judgment of the Council.

If one kills another, a council is called. The chiefs order the murderer to give to the relatives of the deceased, 200 fathoms of wampum—if he cannot do it, the relatives have the right to kill him, in any manner they please. If the relations do not take up the quarrel, the chiefs do nothing about it.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946

NM7 Delaware NM7

J. W. said twelve yards was the required amount of wampum. 681
W. T. said four feet was all that was necessary. 682
W. L. said fifty yards for a man, but one hundred for a woman.

256 to 259. Revenge of murder

Van der Donck—Murder or personal injuries are not attended to by the chief, or friends, except for the purpose of reconciling the parties, for which they use all possible means, and give liberally to effect their object when the offender is deficient in means, which is usually the case. A murder among them is never atoned for without heavy payment. The nearest relative by blood is always the avenger, and if he finds the murderer within twenty-four hours after the act, he is slain instantly, but if the murderer can save himself until one day is past, and the avenger slays him afterwards, then he is liable to be pursued and slain in like manner. A murderer seldom is killed after the first twenty-four hours are past, but he must flee and remain concealed; when the friends endeavour to reconcile the parties, which is frequently agreed to, on condition, that the nearest relatives of the murderer, be they men, women, or children, on meeting the relatives of the person murdered, must give way to them. 627 682

J. W. and W. L. said revenge might not be taken by relatives but by two or three men appointed by chief.

264. Desertion of children

E. R. said that desertion of children was settled in the family. 682

Hunting

318. Ceremonies

Lindeström—Now as soon as the winter bids good night, they begin with their hunts, which is done with a fine innovation. Now at that time of the year the grass which grows there, as has been said, is as dry as hay. When now the sachem wants to arrange his hunt, then commands his people [to take a position] close together in a circle of ½, or 1 or 2 miles, according to the number of people at his command. In the first place each one 224 622

224 622 roots up the grass in the position, [assigned to him] in the circumference, to the width of about 3 or 4 ells, so that the fire will not be able to run back, each one then beginning to set fire to the grass, which is mightily ignited, so that the fire travels away, in towards the center of the circle, which the Indians follow with great noise, and all the animals which are found within the circle, flee from the fire and the cries of the Indians, traveling away, whereby the circle through its decreasing is more and more contracted towards the center. When now the Indians have surrounded the center with a small circle, so that they mutually cannot do each other any harm, then they break loose with guns and bows on the animals which they then have been blessed with, that not one can escape and thus they get a great multitude of all kinds of animals which are found there.

[782 779] 796 The first hunt of the year which they thus obtain (they consecrate to Manitto). When they first have eaten their fill of it and enjoyed their feast they make a burnt offering of the remaining, which they sacrifice to Manitto, i. e., the Devil, but not one animal of it do [they] sell, believing that they through this later will get in their hunt so much the greater blessing. Then they sing and dance and when they become jolly and happy then they cry and sing thus namely: *Hägginj, hā, hā, hā; Hägginj hā; Hägginj hā, Hägginj hā, hā, hā, hā,* etc. Thus repeating and continuing so long a time, so that it reaches well over the forest.

338. Celebration on returning from hunting

[782 776] W. T. said that prayers to the Great Spirit were made at this time, desiring that the favors shown the people be continued as they were appreciated.

Constitution, Personal Appearance, Dress, etc.

342. Extirpation of beard

302 [142] J. W. said that formerly the beard was pulled out but that recently the occasional use of a razor was all that was necessary.

W. T. and E. R. said that they never had any beards.

347. Hair in two queues, one forward, one to the rear 302

W. T. said that formerly the Delaware men wore their hair in two braids, one to the front, and the other to the rear of the head but that recently he and others of the Anadarko group had worn their hair in two braids, one on each side of the face, in keeping with the Wichita, Kiowa and Caddo among whom they lived.

349. Hair fastened behind the head

W. L. said that women did not fasten hair at all until men began to do so and then women braided theirs. Could not be more definite about men braiding theirs, when or whether they braided all of their hair or only the queue.

357. Average height

John Johnston said [height] same as whites. Captain Pipe 141 said that the average height was between five feet nine inches and six feet.

359. Constitution more rugged than that of whites

John Johnston—Their strength I think is inferior [to the 142 whites] but more active, their constitutions are firm while in the prime of life, when they begin to decline I think they decline much faster than the whites.

War and Its Incidents

361. Decided upon by council or civil chiefs 721

Zeisberger said war was decided upon by "the captains" presumably referring to the war chiefs.

W. T. said that war was not a part of the Delaware way of [177] life until after the whites came and taught them to make war on each other.

W. L. said that there had been no wars in his time and that he knew nothing about conducting them.

364. Notice of war given

E. R. said that arrows would be sent to the other party after they had tried to settle a dispute by talk, if the other party kept the arrows they knew they had better prepare for war.

375. Feast

721 Zeisberger reported the feast preceding a war party to be of a hog.

Captain Pipe said it was a bear that was eaten.

Captain Chipps said a bear was eaten if available, otherwise a buck.

J. W. said that the feast was preceded by a fast.

381. March in single file

726 Captain Pipe—They march in single file so long as they suppose themselves out of danger, but when by their spies they learn that caution is necessary, they separate into smaller bodies and form a solid one, as circumstances and the plan of attack render necessary.

W. T. and E. R. both said that war leader went first and the rest followed "in a herd."

382. Encampment arranged in east-west direction

Captain Pipe—When the party encamp they cut two long poles which they fasten to stakes at the distance of three or four feet from the ground, on opposite sides. In the centre between these poles two stakes are fastened in the earth from which their cooking kettle is suspended. On each side of the fire the warriors repose themselves having their weapons at their heads, resting against the poles. The leader places himself at the eastern end of this open encampment, the sides of which are generally made to run east and west; and notwithstanding the ease with which a warrior can creep out at the sides, he is compelled by custom to rise and walk in the line between the feet of his companions and go out at the end. Nor is any person permitted to go under the cooking poles in crossing from one side to the other. In the morning they leave the encampment without eating, following the chief, who goes out at the eastern end of the lodge singing his war song as they march.

J. W. and E. R. said war encampments were arranged in a circle.

384. Guns stacked against pole

Captain Chipps—In marching against an enemy, they regularly encamp at Sunset—the method pursued, is, for the young men to procure two crotched poles and a cross piece, against which the guns are stacked, being first covered with *skin cases*— a fire is built on each side of this, between which and their guns, they take their rest, with their heads towards the guns, and their feet to the fire. 726

386. War chief determines question of battle

Captain Chipps—The chief decides in most cases, upon the expedience of giving battle—in times of difficulty however, he takes the votes of his warriors on the subject. The order of battle is decided in the same way, subject to be altered by circumstances. [725]

388. Any ceremony of victory on field

Heckewelder said that there was a dance of thanksgiving upon the return of a victorious war party. 727

W. T. and E. R. thought that there was a ceremony of some kind but did not know exactly what it was.

393. Ceremonies on return if defeated

E. R. said that the few survivors of a defeat in war returned home, pounded a drum and sang a death song by which the villagers knew that they had been defeated and came and condoled with them.

395. Prisoners burned

Captain Pipe—The practice of burning prisoners is said to have been very ancient. It extended particularly to great warriors, whose capture and death was accompanied with loud shouts by the victors.

399. Age of beginning to bear arms

J. W. said boy might begin to bear arms at 14 years and even accompany war parties but could not be considered a warrior until the age of 35. [884]

408. Consultation of jugglers before march

721 Captain Chipps—There are no jugglers now (1824) living—
787 the last that are recollected lived about 50 years ago—it was customary then for the chiefs to consult them, and be guided by their advice.

410. Women accompany war party

726 Captain Pipe—Anciently the women were never known to accompany a war party, but since booty has been an inducement they have been much in the habit of joining them.

Captain Chipps—The women seldom go into battle—they have however a right to fight, which entitles them to a place in the ranks—if they behave well, they are as much commended as the male warriors.

415. Scalps taken

727 Roger Williams said that the whole head was taken as a trophy.

Peace

728 *418. Ambassadors of peace carry white wampum*

J. W. reported that an ambassador carried "something" but not necessarily a belt of white wampum.

419. War club as emblem of desire for peace

J. W. insisted that chief left "some mark" at home of enemy chief to indicate a desire for peace but that it was not necessarily a war club.

426. Feasts

Captain Pipe in the first copy of his account said: The party inviting the assemblage of the council always furnish the necessary provisions for the visitors during their stay, but there are no feasts. In second and third copies of his account, he said there was a council after the preliminary negotiations and: At this council a grand feast was prepared and was accompanied with dancing.

W. T.—Originally there was no war, hence no peace rules 721
until after whites introduced war. William Penn made a treaty 728
with the Delaware. The delegates (chief, assistant chief, war chief, and councilors) at this and later treaties, met, and talked things over, smoked just like businessmen do today. The white delegates were given food just like Indians always feed any visitors. At the Penn treaty they ate turkey. Thanksgiving day among the whites commemorates this first turkey feast.

429. Flag of truce

J. W. said that a flag of truce was something blue. 728

GAMES

432. Football

J. W. and W. T. said football was taken over recently from 526
Shawnee.

W. L. said that the football game was played with the women against the men. There were two goal posts on the east side and two on the west. Each side tried to send the ball between the posts of the other side. The men had to kick the ball but the women could throw it. Once they appointed a man to help the women. He was mobbed and that was not tried again.

436. Cards

ROGER WILLIAMS reported a game like English cards in which 525
rushes were used instead of cards.

VAN DER DONCK said that they played a game with pieces of reeds, resembling our card playing.

W. L. said that seven-up was the favorite game.

441. Hopping

W. T. stated that the game was to see who could cover the 524
most ground in three hops.

442. Lifting stones

W. T. said that contests of lifting stones in the old days were 781
really trials of the vision power of the different individuals, for 526

781 526 in those days some through their power were able to lift stones weighing over a thousand pounds with one hand.

447. Moccasin game

524 525 JOHN JOHNSTON described the moccasin game as follows without any mention of its connection with the wake of a deceased person:

Moccasin is commenced by placing a blanket or two upon the ground, placing four moccasins upon the blankets. A small ball is made use of. They draw cuts to know which party has the ball first. One of the party that it falls to hides it under one of those moccasins and one of the other party looks for it, if the ball is under the moccasin he first draws, he had found it, if not one of the same party hides it again and it counts one in their tally, or if he turns over last he has found it and one of his party hides it, but if it is not under the one he first draws or if he turns them up and it is not under the one that he turns up last, it is considered not found and the same party hides it. The party that has the ball to hide sings and the other party is silent. For their tally they use three balls or sticks and every time the ball is hid and not found by the other party, one of those balls or sticks is given to the party that hid it until the three come together which is game and the party that has the balls has beat. They agree how many games they will play for the property that is at stake. They frequently make large bets upon this kind of game especially when one tribe plays against another.

All the modern informants reported this game being played only the night before a funeral.

DANCES

448 and 449. Worshiping and common or corn dance

535 JOHN JOHNSTON—They had originally but two and one of them has been described in their mode of worship the other is conducted in similar manner, but they think of less consequence. At this dance the men all dance in front, the women in the rear in a single file at this dance. They have two that sing and beat

upon their folded skins. They are very exact and expert in these 535 dances. The first dance they call *En, gom, ween* and the other *Lin, ka, o, kon* all other dances which they have they say are borrowed from other nations and they will not own them to be theirs.

Captain Pipe—In the Engomween, or worshiping assembly, [776] where ancient customs are said to prevail altogether, they always use the left hand. This dance, (for it may be so called,) and the Lĕñkaun, or common dance, are the only dances which they claim as original among them. All others are said to be borrowed.

In the first copy of Pipe's relation, "common dance" might be read "corn dance." This latter interpretation is entirely plausible in view of the fact that all the modern informants immediately recognized the name and the dance as the Doll Dance which involves corn.

450. *Buffalo dance*

J. W. stated that he had never seen the Buffalo dance but had heard his uncle (probably great-grandfather) tell about it. He thought it probably the property of the Turtle clan.

453. *War dance*

J. W. said that the Peace dance was formerly the war dance and 721 that the Delaware had not had a real War dance for some time. 535 He had seen it performed however. It was usually given along in August. J. W.'s wife's uncle had a vision that he must take part in a War dance and went among the Shawnee and danced. Took tobacco and made talk; told what happened on warpath, what he had to do even if he did not want to. Showed scalp. Danced in daytime from three o'clock to pretty near sundown. Bad dance. Real ones (warriors or brave men) painted themselves and dressed only in breechclouts and moccasins.

W. T. said the Delaware had formerly had a war dance but that he had never seen it.

E. R. said that War dance was also known as Man dance.

454. Co-coze-kon dance

535 **Captain Chipps** described this dance as different from the others. In it they all joined hands and stood in a ring, performing the usual motion of leaping up. He also said that when both sexes united in this amusement, they danced promiscuously.

None of the modern Delaware recognized this dance although W. L. thought that he had heard the name.

It is possible that this is the same dance that Zeisberger described as follows: On the occasion of making or renewing a treaty [648] with another nation a dance very different from the ordinary dance is engaged in. The dancers join hands and leap in a circle for some time. Suddenly the leader lets the hand of one of his partners go, springs forward and turns around several times, by which he draws the whole company round so as to be enclosed by them, when they stand close together. They disengage themselves as suddenly, yet keeping hold of hands during all the different evolutions and changes in the dance; this, as they explain it, represents the chain of friendship; a song, used only at such a solemnity, is sung by all.

462. Women excluded from war dance

721 562 535 **Captain Chipps** in treating of war said that women were allowed to share in the great dance given just before setting out on an expedition. In speaking of dances, he said that the Delaware had many different ones, the most important of which was the War dance, which was celebrated immediately after the declaration of war and from which the women were excluded, although they joined all the other dances. This is a contradiction unless one assumes that "to share in the great dance" referred to singing but not dancing. Evidence that such was sometimes the case is found in the following account of **Heckewelder**: After [127] returning from a successful expedition, a dance of *thanksgiving* is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song, the *scalp-yell* is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

W. L. said that somtimes women joined the war dance, but usually only if they had lost relatives. 721
562

463. Dance in circle 535

W. T. described all dances as being done in a circle with all motion counterclockwise.

E. R. said the dancers moved around the circle clockwise.

W. L. stated that some dances were in circles but there might be several concentric circles. The men always danced in front of the women but in the cases of more than two concentric circles, the innermost formed of men, the next of women, the next of men and the outermost of women. In some dances the women danced on one spot while the men danced all around in pairs or in small groups.

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